

THE
ANTIQUITIES OF BIHA'R IN PATNA

PART I.

THE BUDDHISTIC REMAINS.

BY

ALEXANDER MEYRICK BROADLEY, B. C. S.

Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

CALCUTTA:

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To

Albert Champion Mangles, B. C. S.

Magistrate of Patna.

These pages are inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

Calcutta,

November 10th, 1872. }

jurisdiction of Zil'ah Patna. Súbah Bihár, for more than a century, has ceased to exist except in name. Zil'ah Bihár has now disappeared from the map of India, and the name can now only as a matter of fact be properly applied to the ancient Muhammadan capital, founded by Bakhtyár Khilji, and the five surrounding parganahs of which it is still the chief town.

The tract of country about which I shall have to speak, extends for about thirty-five miles from north to south, and forty from east to west. With the exception of the solitary mountain rock of Bihár, the country presents an almost unbroken plain, sloping gradually from the foot of the Rajagriha Hills (which form the southern boundary of the sub-division) down to the banks of the Ganges. The greater part of this tract of country is singularly fertile, being watered by various streams which descend from the southern hills to join the Ganges below Patna. The Panchani River enters Bihar almost under the shade of the Indra-Sailapeak at Giryak, and flows south-west till it reaches the ancient city. At this point several branches of it intersect the various 'mahallahs' of the town, while the main course of the river still flows to the north, and enters the Ganges near Bárh, the chief station of a Sub-Division bearing that name, which lies between Bihár and the banks of "the sacred stream." The Panchani was once an important river. Vast sandy wastes, on either side of it, now only serve to indicate the extent of its original channel. In the summer months, the bed of the river is almost wholly dry. Not only has the current itself almost ceased to flow, but what remains of it, is almost entirely carried away into a large hollow, or "pyne" (پونہ), four miles south of Bihár, in consequence of a large sand bed having formed a few miles below the town. The silting-up of this sand-bank has altered the whole appearance of the city. In exploring its outskirts, the eye often lights on a spacious bridge now spanning a rice field or a piece of waste-land, and on ruined gháts, which now only serve to bound a scorching expanse of arid sand.

The archaeological and historical interest of this narrow tract of country may be almost said to be unrivalled. It was in the midst of the rugged range of hills, which forms its southern boundary, that once flourished the mighty Kuságárapura, the metropolis of Magadhá; outside its western walls, in the dark "Valley of the Five Hills," [the Ránpur of to-day] was fought a great battle mentioned in the Mahabharata. Here also Sákhyá Muni—still the "Adorable Lord" of three hundred millions of men—spent a great portion of his life. Almost within a stone's throw of the northern foot of the hills are still to be seen the stately remains of New Rájagriha—Rájagriharapura—the capital of Ajáta Satru, son of Bimbisára, the contemporary of Buddha. In the plain itself lie the ruins of "our holy mother Nálándá," the gorgeous Queen of Buddhistic convents, and of the less important monast'ries of Tillarah, Títawan, Ghosrawan, and Hurugáwan. Still further

In the pages of the account which he wrote of his Indian travels, Magadha has a prominent place, no less than four chapters being occupied in the relation of his wanderings in that kingdom.* Before retracing our steps to the time of Sakhya Muni himself, I must say something of another great traveller, who, two centuries later, passed over very nearly the same route as his predecessor. On the 1st August, 629, A. D. Hwen Tsiang left his home at Liang-cheu, on a similar errand to that of Chi-Fah-Hiyan,† and it is not till A. D. 644 that he again arrives in the frontiers of his native land. According to the computation of General Cunningham, he reached Magadha on February 10th, 637, and remained there till January, A. D. 639. It also appears that he revisited it during the spring of A. D. 642. The Buddhist pilgrim has bequeathed to posterity an account of his travels, and of the places and people he visited, the historical and archæological value of which it is impossible to overrate. It is much to be regretted, that no carefully annotated English translation has as yet been prepared of these invaluable records. In this instance the French have gone before us, and it is to M. Stanislaus Julien that the world is indebted for its knowledge of the history, geography, and antiquities of India during the 7th century of our era. This eminent scholar has published two entirely distinct works on the subject, and for reasons which I shall presently state, I deem it best to give the title of them in full.

The first appeared in 1853. It is entitled "*Historie de la vie de Hiouen Tsiang et de ses voyages dans l'Hinde depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645, par Hœi-li et Yen-Tsiang, suivie de documents et d'éclaircissements géographiques tirés de la relation originale de Hiouen Tsiang, traduite de Chinois par Stanislaus Julien.*" The second was published at Paris five years later, and bears the title "*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, traduit du Sanscrit en Chinois en l'an 618 par Hiouen Tsiang, et du Chinois en Français par M. Stanislaus Julien.*" Paris 1857."‡

yojanas, actual distance about 5½ miles; Nālandā to Rājgir, one yojana, actual distance, 5½ or 6 miles. For these reasons I consider a yojana as equivalent to a distance of between 5 and 6 miles.

* Deal's 'Fah-Hiyan,' pp. 102-119.

† Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India,' p. 563.

‡ The following will shew the discrepancies between both editions, as far as Magadha is concerned—

I.—"Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tsiang," 1853.

| From | To | Distance | Direction |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------|
| Pataliputra | Tilachakya | 7 Y. | S. W. |
| Tilachakya | Bodhidrouma | 100 L. | S. |
| Bodhidrouma | Nālandā | 7 Y. | ? |
| Nālandā | Rājgrha | ? | ? |
| Rājgrha | Indrasaila guha | 30 L. | E. |
| Indrasaila guha | Nālandā | ? | ? |

It would be impossible to overrate the vast importance of these records, and the travels of Fah-Hiyan and Hwen Thsang will form as it were the basis of my attempt to describe the Buddhistic remains of this part of the kingdom of Magadha. We can now go back to the time of the great founder of the Buddhist faith, and see how deeply connected Magadha was with many of the most important episodes in his life.

Buddhism arose in India about the beginning of the sixth century before Christ. Its founder was Sákhyā Muni, son of Suddhodana, ruler of the country of Kapila, which appears to have been situated some distance to the north of Banáras. The tenets of his religion may be shortly summed up as follows.* I.—That man may become superior to the gods. II.—That Nirvāṇa† is the supreme good. III.—That religion consists in a right preparation of the heart (suppression of evil desire, practice of self-

II.—“*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*,” 1857.

| From | To | Distance | Direction |
|-----------------------|---|-----------|-----------|
| Pataliputra | Tilāçakya. | 100 L. | S. W. |
| Tilāçakya | Gunamati Mt. | 90 L. | S. W. |
| Gunamati convent | Silabhadra convent on isolated hill. | 20 L. | S. W. |
| Convent of Silabhadra | Gayá. | 40 L. | S. W. |
| Gayá. | Kukkutapáda M. | 100 L. | E. |
| Kukkutapáda M. | Buddhavāna M. | 100 L. | N. E. |
| Buddhavāna M. | Yachtivāna Forest. | 30 L. | E. |
| Yachtivāna Forest | Sources Thermales. | 10 L. | S.W. |
| Yachtivāna Forest | A mountain. | 7 L. | S.E. |
| This mountain | Another. | 3 or 4 L. | N. |
| This one | A third. | 4 or 5 L. | N.E. |
| This mountain | Kouçāgarapura (old Rājgir) | 16 L. | E. |
| Rājgriha | Nālanda. | 30 L. | N |
| Nālandá | Kulika. | 9 L. | S.W. |
| Kulika | Kalapināka. | 20 L. | S.E. |
| Kalapināka | Indra saila gouha. | 30 L. | E. |
| Indra saila gouha | Kapotika Sanghárāma. | 150-61 L. | N.E. |
| Kapotika-Sanghárāma | A monastery. | 40 L. | S.E. |
| This monastery | A village south of the Ganges. | 70 L. | N.E. |

It would be an almost endless task to attempt to point out the discrepancies which exist between these two accounts, much more so to convey a satisfactory explanation of them, but I have stated them in the outset to shew the extreme difficulty of a satisfactory or positively correct identification of the places alluded to, and to demonstrate how little we can trust the distances and directions which form the only data on which we can rely.

* Benl, Introduction, p. 19.

† *L. c.*, exemption from sorrow, complete unconsciousness of, and indifference to, external objects.

denial, active benevolence). IV.—That men of all castes and women may enjoy the benefits of a religious life.

The religion, of which these are the principles, spread from the mountain solitudes of the Rājgir Hills to the remotest parts of Eastern Asia, and is at the present day professed by no less than three hundred millions of human beings. I have not the slightest intention to dwell even for a moment on the details of the Buddhist creed, which have been so eloquently and clearly explained and illustrated by Messrs. Beal, Alabaster, and Bishop Bigandet, and shall only allude to them again when I come to speak of the causes of the ultimate decay and overthrow of the Buddhist faith in Hindústan.

All writers who have attempted to gather together the half historical, half mythical, facts connected with the life of the great sage of Magadha, have agreed in naming Rājgir and Nālanda as the scene of many of the episodes of his history.

It appears that at the very commencement of his religious career, he was attracted by the wild mountain solitudes which surrounded the Magadha capital. Alabaster, in his translation of the Siamese Life of Buddha,* gives the following poetical account of his arrival at Rājagriha. 'He entered the city, and visited each house he came to, that he might receive alms. Astonished at his beauty, the people crowded round him, wondering who it might be. Some said, "Surely it is the moon flowing from the Rāvanāso Asura Rahu, how else can we account for his radiant glory?" Others made other guesses, and they could come to no conclusion. So they went and told the king Bimbisāra, king of Rājagriha, that there was a being in the city whose beauty made them doubt whether he were not an angel. Then the king, looking from a window of the palace, saw him, and, filled with astonishment, gave orders to ascertain who he might be, saying, "Follow him! If he is not a human being, when he leaves the city, he will disappear; if he is an angel, he will fly through the air; if a snake king, he will sink into the earth; but if a man, he will remain and eat his food."

'The grand being that was approaching the Buddhahip, calmly continued his work, regarding but the small space of earth close around him; and having collected sufficient food, he left the city by the same gate he had entered it.

'He passed on to the Banthawa Hills, and sitting down on the summit of a lofty rock, he looked at the food collected in his pan.

'He—who had ever been accustomed to the most dainty meats, the most refined delicacies—looked at the mixed mess in his pot and loathed it; he could scarcely swallow it. Yet even this caused no wish to return to his city and his palace.

'He reflected on the foulness of his own body, and ate without further aversion. He finished his meal, rinsed his mouth, washed his pan, and replaced it in his wallet, and seated himself in a position of contemplation on the rocky cliff.

'Then the officers who had been set to watch him, returned and told king Bimbisāra that he was certainly a man; and the king desiring to converse with him, called for his royal palankeen, and attended by a great train of noblemen and soldiers, went forth to seek him at the Banthawa Hills

'Sitting on a rocky slab, the king gazed with delight at the grand being, and observed the grace of his manners and thus addressed him :

• "Man of beauty, whence comest thou?"

'Most excellent lord, I come from the country of Sākya.'

• "From what Sākya country?"

'From the royal city, Kapila.'

'The king continued to question him as to his caste, family, and name, and was informed in answer, that he was of the royal race (caste) of the Sākyas, the son of king Suddhodana and named Siddhārtha.

'Now king Bimbisāra and the prince, Siddhārtha were on most friendly terms. Though they had never met, and did not know each other by sight, they were in the constant habit of exchanging presents as tokens of good will, and when the grand being announced his name, the king was assured, beyond all doubt, by his admirable manners and language, that it was none other than his friend.

'He reflected that perhaps the prince had fled from his country on account of some family quarrel, and under that impression, he invited him to share his power—to rule over half the great country of Magadha. Then the grand being told him the reasons, the object for which he had resigned the empire of the world. He told him of the four sights which had influenced his thoughts, and of his determination to achieve the omniscient Buddhahood. And the king having obtained from him a promise that after the attainment of omniscience, he would first teach in Rajagriha, did homage, and returned to his city.'

In Dr. Bigandet's *Life of the Burmese Buddha*, we find a great deal more allusion made to Rājgir than in Mr. Alabaster's translation from the *Siamese*.* He tells us that Buddha set out for Rājgir [Radzagio], and halted in a grove of palm trees a short distance from the city, where he was met by Bimbisāra [Pimpattara] at the head of 120,000 warriors, to whom he delivered a religious discourse. Next day he made a triumphal entry into Rājgir. "Then Pimpattara, king of Magaritz [Magadha], thought within himself of the thing which could prove acceptable to Phra, in order to offer it to him. He said within himself: my garden, which is situated

near the city, would doubtless be a very fit place for Buddha and his followers to live in, as it lies not far from the city; it would be a place of easy resort to all those who would feel inclined to visit Buddha and pay him their respect; it is moreover far enough, that the noise and cries of the people could not be heard therein; the place is peculiarly fitted for retreat and contemplation; it will assuredly prove agreeable to Buddha. Whereupon he rose up, and holding in his hand a golden shell, like a cup, he made to Phra a solemn offering of that garden, which was called Weluwana. Gaudama remained silent in token of his acceptance of the gift. He preached the law and left the palace. At that time he called his disciples and said to them, "Beloved Rahans, I give you permission to receive offerings."

He next proceeds to recount the conversion from schism of Śāriputra [Thariputra] and Mogalan [Mankalan], who subsequently became the chief disciples of Buddha. After this event, Buddha continues to preach, teach at the Kalandavanṇavana Vihāra,* but at last yields to the frequent messages of his royal father and returns to Kapila.† The next chapter, however, is devoted to legends connected with his three years' stay at Rājagriha, *i. e.*, the dedication of the Dzeta-woon [?] monastery, the miraculous cure of Djrika, and the avarice of Mogalan. In the succeeding chapter we learn that Buddha spent the 11th season of his religious life at Nalanda, and 17th and 20th again at Rājagriha. After this Śāriputra set out for his native place Nalanda, to enter into that state of unconsciousness—the much-longed for Nirvana—which formed the consummation of religious life. I quote Bigandet's translation of this part of the biography, as a specimen of Buddhist writing, and as peculiarly interesting on account of its close connection with the ruins of the great Nalanda monastery.

"It was little before dark when the great Rahan arrived at the entrance of the Nalaka village. He went to rest at the foot of a banian tree close to that spot. At that time there came a young man, his nephew, named Ooparewata, who perceiving Thariputra bowed down before him and stood in that place. The great Rahan said to him: "Is your grandmother at home?" Having been answered in the affirmative, he continued addressing him: "Go now to her and tell her to prepare for me the room wherein I was born, and a place for these five hundred Rahans that accompany me. I will stay for a while in the village, and will go to her house, but this evening. The lad went in all haste to his grandmother's house and said to her: "My uncle is come, and is staying at the entrance of the village." "Is he alone,"

* Beal, p. 117, note. Although he states the monastery to be called in Singalese (as in Burmese) Weluwana, he supposes it to have been the gift of a rich landowner, Kalanda. The Burmese text, however, states distinctly that it was the religious gift of Buddha.

† Bigandet, p. 123.

inquired the grandmother, "or has he with him a numerous retinue? For what purpose is he coming here?" The young man related to her all the particulars of his interview with his uncle. Nupathari, the mother of Tháriputra, thought within her self: perhaps my son who has been a Rahan from his youth, desires in his old age to leave his profession. She, however, gave orders to have the desired room cleaned, and a place prepared for all his attendants.

'In the evening the great disciple went to his mother's house with all his followers. He ascended to the room prepared for him and rested therein. He bade all the Rahans to withdraw and leave him alone. They had scarcely departed when a most violent disease seized Tháriputra, which caused an abundant vomiting of blood, so great indeed, that the vessel wherein it flowed could not hold it. His mother, at the sight of such an awful distemper, did not dare to approach, but with a broken heart retired into her own room, leaning against the door. At that time, four great Náts, a Thágiá, their chief, and four Bráhmas came to see him, and to minister unto him, during his painful illness, but he bade them retire. His mother seeing the coming in and going out of so many distinguished visitors, and the respect they paid to her son, drew near to the door of his room and calling the faithful Tsanda, inquired from him wherefore so many distinguished individuals had come. Tsanda explained to her that the great Náts, the chief of Thágiás, had come to visit and assist her son, and enjoy the presence of the great Rahan.

'Meanwhile he informed the patient that his mother wished to see him. Tháriputra replied that the moment was not a proper one, and asked from his mother the motive of her untimely visit. "Beloved son," said she, "I am come here to contemplate your ever dear countenance. But who are they, those that have just come to see you?" Tháriputra explained to her how he had been visited by Náts, Thágiás, and Brahmas. His mother inquiring from him if he were greater than any one of these, he hesitatingly replied that he was more excellent than any of them. His mother thought within herself: if my son be so exalted, how much more must Buddha be. Her heart was then overflowed with the purest joy.

'Tháriputra rightly understood that the moment had come to preach the law to his mother. He said to her: "Woman, at the time my great teacher was born, when he obtained the supreme intelligence and preached the most excellent law, a great earthquake was felt throughout ten thousand worlds. No one has ever equalled him in the practice of virtue, in understanding, wisdom, and in the knowledge of, and the affection for, the transcendent excellencies of the state of a rahat." He then went on explaining to her the law and many particulars relating to the person of Buddha. "Beloved son," said his mother, delighted with all that she heard, "why have you

been so late in acquainting me with such a perfect law?" At the conclusion of the instruction, she attained the state of Thantapam. Tháriputra replied: "Now, woman, I have repaid you for all the labours you have bestowed on me in bearing, nursing, and educating me; depart from me and leave me alone."

Tháriputra inquired from the devoted Tsanda whether the moment had come. Having been informed that it was daylight, he requested to be set up. By his order all the Rahans were called to his presence, and he said to them, "During the last forty-four years you have ever been with me; should I have offended any one during all that time I beg to be pardoned." The Rahans answered him.—"Great teacher, we have lived with you during the last forty years, and have been your inseparable attendants, following you everywhere, as the shadow follows the body. We have never experienced the least dissatisfaction from your part, but we have to request your forbearance and pardon for ourselves."

'It was on the evening of the full moon Satsaongmon (November) that Tháriputra went to his mother's place, and laid in the room wherein he had been born. During the night he was attacked with the most distressing distemper. In the morning at daylight, he was habited with his tsíwaran and made to lie on his right side. He entered into a sort of ecstasy, passed successively from the first state of Dzán to the second, third, and fourth, and thence dived into the bottomless state of Nibán, which is the complete exemption from the influence of passion and matter.'

After the death of Buddha, his relics were brought to Rájgir and buried there by the reigning prince. The following account of their reception at the capital of Magadha is given in Bishop Bigandet's translation of the Burmese life of Buddha.* 'King Adzáttat ordered a beautiful and well levelled road, eight oothabas broad, to be made from the city of Kuthinaran to that of Rídzagio. The distance is twenty-five youdzanas. He wished to adorn it, in all its length, in the same manner as the Malla princes had done for the road leading from the place that had been decorated with all sorts of ornaments, to that where the relics had been deposited. At fixed and proper distances, houses were built for resting and spending the night. The king attended by a countless crowd of people, went to take the relics and carry them into his country. During the journey, singing, dancing, and playing of musical instruments went on uninterrupted. Offerings of perfumes and flowers were incessantly made by the people. At certain intervals, they stopped during seven days, when fresh honors were paid to the relics, in the midst of the greatest rejoicings. In this manner, seven months, and seven days were employed in going over the distance between the two countries. At Radzagio, the relics were deposited in a place prepared for that purpose, and a dzedi was erected on them. The seven other kings built also dzedis

over the relics they had obtained. Daima built one, too, over the golden vessel, and the Mauria kings erected likewise one religious monument over the coals. Thus there were at that time ten dzedis.

When this was all over, the great Kathaba fearing yet for the safety of the precious relics, went to king Adzitatath and said to him that precautions were to be taken for securing the preservation of the relics. The king asked him by what means all the relics could be had from those who had obtained them. Kathaba replied that he would know how to manage such a delicate affair. He went to the seven kings who gave to him all the principal relics, keeping by themselves only what was strictly necessary to be deemed an object of worship and goodwill towards Buddha's person. One exception was made in favour of the relics deposited in the village of Rama, because they were, in future times, to be carried to Ceylon and placed in the great Wira or Pagoda. All the relics having been brought to Radzagio, Kathaba took with him the relics and went out of the city. He directed his steps in a south-east direction, loaded with this precious burthen, which he carried all the way. Having reached a certain spot, he made the following prayer: "May all the rocks and stones of this place disappear, and there be in place thereof a fine sandy desert or soil; may water never issue from this spot." Adzitatath ordered the soil to be dug very deep; with the earth, bricks were made and eight dzedis were built. The depth of the hole was eighty cubits. Its bottom was lined with iron bars. To that bottom was lowered a monastery made of bars, similar in shape and proportion to the great Wira of Ceylon. Six gold boxes containing the precious relics were placed in this monastery. Each box was enclosed in one of silver, the latter in one adorned with precious stones, and so on, until eight boxes were placed in the other. There also were arranged 550 statues, representing Buddha in 550 preceding existences, described in the sacred writings, the statues of the 80 great disciples, with those of Thudandana and Maia. There also were arranged 500 lamps of gold and 500 lamps of silver, filled with the most fragrant oil, with wicks made of the richest cloth. The great Kathaba taking a leaf of gold, wrote upon it the following words.—"In after times, a young man named Pradatha shall ascend the throne, and become a great and renowned monarch under the name of Athanka. Through him, the relics shall be spread all over the island of Dzapondeba." King Adzitatath made new offerings of flowers and perfumes. All the doors of the monastery were shut and fastened with an iron bolt. Near the last door, he placed a large ruby upon which the following words were written.—'Let the poor king who shall find this ruby, present it to the relics.' A Thagin ordered a Nāt to watch over the precious deposit. The Nāt disposed around it figures the most hideous and terrifying, armed with swords. The whole was encompassed by six walls made of stones and bricks; a large slab of stone, covered the upper part and upon it he built a small dzedi.

At the time of Buddha's death Ajátasatru, the son of Bimbisára, was reigning in Rájgir. According to Hwen Thsang he had transferred his capital from the old city in the valley of the five hills, which, as the Burmese writer expresses it, "surrounded it like a cow-pen, to a new town in the open plain just outside the ravine which led to the metropolis of his forefathers." The translator of the Life of Hwen Thsang* gives the following account of the circumstance which led to the change alluded to.

'Dans l'origine, lorsque le roi Pin-pi-so-lo (Bimbisárá) résidait dans la ville Chang-maokong-teh'ing (Kouçágárapoura), la population était fort nombreuse, et les habitations, pressées les unes contre les autres, eurent souvent à souffrir des ravages du feu. Le roi rendit alors un décret qui menaçait ceux qui fautaient d'attention et de vigilance, laisseraient prendre le feu dans leur maison, de les transférer dans la Forêt froide (Cétavana). Dans ce royaume on appelle ainsi un lieu abhorré où l'on jette les cadavres Cmacanam, (un cimetière). Mais peu de temps après, le feu prit dans le palais. Le roi dit alors : "Je suis le maître des hommes ; si je viole moi-même mes propres décrets, je n'aurai plus le droit de réprimer les écarts des mes sujets."

'Le roi ordonna alors au prince royal de rester à sa place, et alla demeurer dans la Forêt froide (c'est-à-dire dans le cimetière). Pendant ce temps-là, le roi de Fei-che-li (Vaichali), ayant appris que Pin-pi-so-lo (Bimbisára) habitait en dehors de la ville, dans une plaine déserte, voulut lever des troupes, pour s'emparer de lui par surprise.

'Les officiers placés au loin en observation en ayant été informés firent un rapport au roi, qui construisit alors une ville fortifiée. Comme le roi avait commencé à habiter dans cet endroit, on l'appela pour cette raison Wang-che-teh'ing (Rádjagriha-poura) ; c'était précisément la ville nouvelle. Dans la suite le roi Che (Adjataçatrou) lui ayant succédé, y établit sa cour. Elle continua à servir de résidence royale, jusqu'à l'époque où le roi Açoka, ayant transféré sa cour à Pet'oli (Pátali-poutra), donna cette ville, on ne voit point d'hommes de diverses croyances ; il n'y a plus que des Bráhmanes, qui forment un millier de familles.'

After the death of the great founder of the Buddhist faith, Kasyápa, on whose shoulder the mantle of the primacy seems to have descended, convened the first, great council of monks who had attained the Rahatship, or highest degree of sanctity, in a hall facing the Sattapáni cave, which appears to have been situated in the northern shade of Mount Baibhár. Under the direction of the president, the whole canon of Sákhya Muni's teachings was recited. To the convening of this council Ajatasatru lent his aid. He is said to have gained the throne by staining his hands in his father's blood some years before the Nirvána of Buddha, and to have subsequently added his dominions to Kapila, Kosali, and Wesali. Any detailed ac-

count of the proceedings of Mahá Kasyapa, and his sacred conclave, is quite beyond my province, but I may incidentally mention that both Fah Hiyan and Hwen Thsang say something on the subject.

New Rájgir seems to have enjoyed a brief existence as the capital of Magadha; for a century later, Asoka appears to have transferred the seat of government to Pátali, a town clearly identical with the Palibothra of the Greeks and the modern Patna of the Hindús and 'Azimábád of the Muhammadans.

I have not endeavoured in the foregoing pages to write a connected history of Buddha's life in Rájgir, or to give a complete account of the rulers of that city; but my object has been simply to show the intimate connection of the Maghada of those days, and the Bihár of the present, with the earliest days of the Buddhistic faith. This connection once established and shewn, the extreme interest and importance of the Buddhist remains of this part of the country becomes apparent. They are important to the historian as throwing light on annals of a remote period, and still more important to the archaeologist as illustrating the manners and customs, the costume and ceremonies of another age, and as throwing light on the details of a religion which has passed to other climes. Whatever historical incidents remain untouched, I shall speak of when I come to write of the places with which they are connected, of Tillárah and Bihár, of Ghosráwan, Titráwan, and the Indra-Saila Hill.

III. Buddhist Remains.

The relics of Buddhism still existing in Bihár may be divided into five groups:—(1) Ruins of Temples. (2) Those of Monasteries, or Viháras. (3) Votive Stúpas. (4) Figures and sculptures. (5) Inscriptions.

First.—The temples seem to have varied in size and splendour at different epochs in the history of the religion to which they belong. Amongst the earlier temples are those of Rájgir, Dápthú, and the Indra-Saila peak, and amongst the more modern, those of Bargáon. The most ancient of the temples are remarkable for the extreme simplicity of their construction. They usually consisted of an outer court, varying in size from fifteen to twenty-five feet, the walls of which were composed of enormous bricks of rare solidity. The roof of the building was generally nine or ten feet high, sometimes more, sometimes less, and consisted of slabs of granite or other stone, placed close to each other, and supported by pillars of the same material. The capitals of the pillars were generally separate from the shaft, and of such size and form as to render the weight of the roof less difficult to sustain. Their shape was generally either cruciform or oblong. This court generally led to an inner chamber or shrine, smaller and less lofty than the vestibule, but of similar shape and construction. In the centre of this is generally to be found the figure of Buddha. Carvings were often arranged round the walls of

the outer apartment, but apparently merely for the purpose of ornament. The roof was generally covered with brick and probably surmounted by a low cupola or turret of the same material. The lintels, &c., of the doorway were generally composed of basalt slabs, rudely carved with a bold geometrical pattern, having one or more figures of Buddha in the centre. The brick work appears uniformly to have been plain, but remarkably uniform, the outside edges being reduced to a level by the chisel. As an illustration of the older type of Buddhist temple I may mention the large one discovered by me in the side of the Baibhâr hill at Râjgir. A great number of the pillars are *literally imbedded in the brickwork of the wall*. This feature is also observable in the excavated building at the Nirmal-kund, and the series of temples at Dâpsthû. The more modern temples present a striking contrast to the more ancient ones. The walls of these buildings were adorned with the most exquisitely moulded brick work; the façade was lavishly ornamented with pillared vestibules, and the richest sculptures which art could produce; the roof was crowned with a majestic spire or cupola abounding in profuse decoration in brick, plaster, and basalt; and the doors and windows were surrounded with bands of lace-like carving. The excavated temple at Bargâon affords a striking example of the religious architecture of the Buddhists from 450 A. D. to 900 A. D. I extract a description of it from the pamphlet I have already written on the subject.

‘Raised a few feet above the plain was an evenly paved court, as near as possible one hundred feet square. This court was surrounded by halls and buildings of every description on all sides except the eastern, and these doubtless served as the dwelling-places, refectory, &c., of the recluses of the convent. In the centre of the court rose an enormous temple, eighty feet long at the base on each side, and consisting of a series of several stories tapering to a point, each about fourteen feet above the other. The main fabric was composed of enormous bricks, each about one foot three inches in length, three inches thick, and ten inches wide, placed so close together that the cement which joined them is barely visible. The first two stories of the building were uncovered, and are now almost as perfect as when Hwen Thsang saw them fourteen hundred years ago. In order to preserve every detail in describing this remarkable building, we will take it side by side. The great entrance was towards the east (a custom still observed in the construction of the Buddhist temples of Tibbat), and was faced by a terrace of stone fifty feet in length and composed of two rows of sandstone slabs, the first decorated by a simple triangle in the centre, the second carved with a very beautiful geometrical pattern. These stones vary in length from seven to three feet, and are as near as possible a foot square. In the centre of this terrace, which is about six feet in front of the main building, is a

flight of three steps exactly ten feet in length. The first court was of very considerable proportions, fifty feet by twenty-six, and was covered by a stone roof supported by a series of twelve large pillars. These columns rested first on a rough pedestal of unhewn stone which disappeared beneath the floor, and then on a cruciform base, also separate from the pillar itself, but joined to it by a stone plug six inches long, one end of which pierced the former, while the other was imbedded in the centre of the latter. Two of these pillars were recovered by me intact, and are of the most elaborate workmanship. The cruciform base measures three feet each way, and the four arms are uniformly carved with a curious pattern. The shaft itself is seven feet eight inches high, of which one foot nine inches are taken up in the capital. The upper half of this consists of a simple square, and the latter of an oval band of a rich lace-like pattern. The rest of the pillar, down to one foot ten inches of the lower end, where it again has a third base of oblong shape, is oval, having a circumference of three feet eight inches, and ornamented at regular distances by two bands of carving about twelve inches wide. Each band consists of two parts, the first exhibiting a row of flowers strongly resembling heraldic roses, and the second a series of gargoyle-like faces* which form a peculiar feature in Buddhist ornamentation, and which is employed and re-produced at every possible opportunity. On each side of this covered terrace, but several feet behind it, is an elaborate brick moulding, fourteen feet long and six and a half feet high, surmounted by a narrow terrace of the same material, approached on either side by three steps from the pillared court. This moulding has sixteen turns, and is of the most graceful appearance. On each side of the entrance court, and above the narrow terrace, the main wall is still standing ten feet high. On the west side of the court was the great entrance door, which was uncovered by me perfect, but was thrown down in my absence by the workmen, who imagined I wished to remove the whole edifice to Bihár. This doorway was of extraordinary beauty, and measured twenty feet across and more than twelve feet high. It was composed of a series of eighteen slabs, nine on each side, gradually lessening in height towards the centre, where they terminated in a narrow portal, hardly three feet wide, and surmounted by a heavy slab decorated with elaborate carving. The whole of this enormous mass of sculpture rested on three great stones, two and a half feet square and twenty-two feet in length. Each slab was joined to the next one by a strong iron clamp, and the upper portion of each was joined to the lower in the same manner. The first two stones on either side were devoid of all ornament and were placed nearly a foot behind the other slabs. The next pillar of the series (or rather what remained of it intact) was eight feet in height, twelve inches broad, and of enormous thickness. The first slab was of light brown

* See plate, *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, February, 1872, p. 32.

colour and of a soft and pliable nature, whereas this one resembled the hardest granite and presented a curious variety of appearance and colour. The base of it is plain, and above it is a grotesque kneeling figure with a long beard and hands uplifted, supporting a canopy, above which rises a long line of geometrical pattern. The third slab is of black basalt and is scarce four inches wide. It is taken up entirely by the representation of two enormous snakes, one twining round the other. The next stone is of the same material, and is of unusually elaborate workmanship. A winding stem of flowery pattern work covers its face, and from each side of it springs a lotus-like flower, which alternately forms the resting place of a mystic bird or elephant rampant. The fifth slab* is plain. The sixth pillar is ornamented at the base with a female figure eight inches high, from whose hands spring a winding branch of foliage and flowers which stretches to the top of the lintel. The seventh slab is a repetition of the third, and the eighth is of the same stone as the second, containing three large female figures, one above the other, each about one and a half feet high, and in the hands of each is seen a musical instrument similar in shape and size to the modern 'sitár.' The ninth stone has a simple beading, and is surmounted by a heavy slab covered with carving. The two last slabs of the series, together with the one which covers them, form the doorway which leads to the inner part of the temple. The magnificent gate led to the second hall, twelve feet wide and eighteen feet long; and on each side of this chamber were smaller octagonal rooms, from the western end of which a staircase lead to the terraces above. These were approached by narrow doors right and left of the great gateway. These rooms were evidently of great height, and were decorated by elaborately carved pannels of sandstone let into the brick-work. I have added a series of these to my own collection. One of these consists of a slab of Mirzápúr stone covered with the most elaborate design, the chief feature of which is two figures with arms and legs entwined. The colour of the stone is peculiarly beautiful. Another is of black basalt, and represents a large elephant, richly caparisoned, with a lotus flower in its mouth. Beyond this, one enters by another door an inner chamber twenty-two feet square, the walls of which are in their ruined state still fourteen feet high. This was doubtless the *sanctum sanctorum* of the building, and I discovered at its western end a headless Buddha four feet high, placed on a handsome 'singhásan,' or throne, of black basalt, and was divided into five compartments; the first on each side containing single figures, the next lions-couchant, and the one in the centre two devotees in the act of making an offering. The wall is eighteen feet thick on either side.

* Its base contains an inscription. Bábú Rijendraílá Mitra makes the date 'Sambat 856,' and Professor Rám Gopál Bhandakár 'the eleventh year of the reign of King Mahá pála Deva.'

The higher stories and roofs have toppled over on the northern side, and from an examination of their remains, it is clear that the building consisted of at least five stories, surmounted by a spire or minaret, (not by a cupola,) at least two hundred feet high in all.

The excavation of the western side is the most perfect of all. The upper story is about sixty-three feet long, and is exactly twelve feet above the lower one, which is eleven feet wide. The wall of the high terrace is quite plain, decorated merely by a simple moulding about three feet from the base. The stories consist of solid brick, and not of chambers as I first imagined. This I ascertained by making a perforation six feet deep in its centre. Not quite in the centre of the building is an irregular protuberance, twenty-two feet wide and twenty-seven feet long. I at first imagined it to be a portico, but on closer examination, I think it must have been a mere support, built up to sustain the weight of the upper stories when they showed symptoms of decay; for on removing the great portion of it (December 5th and 6th) the pilasters, mouldings, and statues which decorate the wall of the lower terrace were found entire behind it. In fact this protuberance seems so singularly out of place, that I should have imagined it to have been a portion of the ruins of the upper stories, had not the existence of regular walls precluded the possibility of such being the case. The ornamentation of each of these sides consisted of a series of mouldings and niches filled with stucco figures of Buddha in various positions. After the removal of the protuberance above mentioned, the west side presented the following appearance. At the base a moulding of brick-work, five feet three inches high, having thirteen distinct turns. The moulding runs along the whole façade. After the first six feet, it recedes a foot and continues in the same line for eighteen feet, when it again advances a foot, and continues in that line for eight feet, when it again recedes to the former line, and so on. Above the moulding is a series of niches two feet ten inches wide and three feet three inches high. These niches are separated by pilasters about four feet six inches high. These pilasters have plain square bases, and a three-sided shaft, each shaft being somewhat semicircular in form, above this is a square moulded capital. Above the niches are projecting bosses of brick, lotus-shaped, protruding from the wall, and above these another moulding similar to that below. The niches are surmounted by arches of over-lapping brick, and each contained a figure in plaster. The original bricks are moulded with exquisite exactness, and present great variety of patterns; some of the pilaster bases, for instance, containing figures, &c., in different portions fitted together. The temple has evidently twice at least been covered by a coating of plaster moulded into different forms, but as a rule greatly inferior to the workmanship of the brick underneath. The southern side is precisely similar to the western. On the top of the terrace, which doubtless ran round the three

sides of the temple, was a verandah, and the sockets of the beams are still visible in the upper wall. The southern side still stands more than thirty feet high.

In order to get a more complete idea of the lofty cupola which doubtless once surmounted the temple of Baláditya, I have since cleared away a great part of the rubbish in the northern side of the temple, and have been thus enabled to design a restored elevation of the whole building. I have also procured an illustration of the great doorway, which is of the greatest archaeological and architectural interest.

Although there was little variety in the Buddhist architect's design, it was peculiarly graceful and calculated to produce a pleasing and majestic effect. The gargoyle face, the almost endless repetition of the figure of Buddha, the quaint niches and the long lines of lotus leaves, formed a *tout ensemble* which Hindú art has never surpassed. Of the minor sculptures which decorated this and similar religious edifices, a full description will be given when I come to speak of the different localities in which they were found.

The pillars which formed one of the chief features, both in the buildings and in the monasteries, became more and more elaborate as knowledge and art increased.

Secondly.—The monasteries appear to have been quadrangles of brick buildings (similarly ornamented to the temples), and generally having a pagoda in the centre. According to Hwen Thsang's account, they must have been very magnificent. Little idea can be gained of the form, &c., by an inspection of the ruins; for the wood carvings and tiles have of course disappeared under the ravages of time. The monasteries were almost invariably situated in picturesque positions on the banks of ponds of the clearest water, and surrounded by groves of mangoe, baṛ, and pípál trees. They appear to have been generally built a short distance from the villages to which they belonged. Any further description is unnecessary, as I shall dwell very fully on all monasteries of Bihár, when I come to speak of them separately.

Thirdly.—*Votive Stúpas.* The subject of these most interesting monuments of the Buddhist faith has been clearly and briefly summarised by Herrn Schlagintweit.* He writes—"The ancient stúpas were originally meant as receptacles for relics of either the Buddhas or the Bodhisattvas, and the kings who encouraged the propagation of the Buddhist faith. But already in the early periods of Buddhism stúpas were constructed *ex roto* as symbolical substitutes for a tomb with a sacred relic, either for marking the spot where remarkable incidents in the sacred history had taken place, or for decorating the Viháras and temples. Their erection is considered as an act

of devotion and reverence paid to the Buddhas, and was recommended already in the ancient legends as a most meritorious work."

Few places in India are richer than Bihār in, Buddhistic stūpas and chaityas; and I have ventured to classify them as follows:—

I.—Stūpas actually containing relics of Buddha or his disciples.

II.—Stūpas containing no relics, but built to mark the occurrence of some event memorable in the history of the faith.

III.—Stūpas and Chaityas purely votive, most of them serving as the repository of images.

IV.—Chaityas, or miniature stūpas, not built, but carved in one or more blocks of stone, and generally covered with ornamentations and figures of Buddha.

On the back of a figure of Buddha in the Titrāwan ruins, I found a well-executed drawing of a stūpa which I append as an illustration. The form of the stūpa varied little, whatever class it belonged to. They seem to have been generally surmounted by a series of umbrellas. The large tope at Nālandā, and the tumuli to the west of the walls of Rājagriha belong undoubtedly to the first class; but their extreme antiquity (not less than 2200 years) makes it doubtful if any thing could be found there, to say nothing of the frequent removals and abstractions of the relics we read of. I have sunk a shaft in the second tumulus at Rājgir; but without success, the labourers cutting through a solid deposit of bricks to a depth of fifteen feet. The topes on the summits of the hills, on the contrary, are of the second class, and, in all probability served to mark some of the most sacred episodes in the history of Sakhya Muni; e. g., his sitting on the Banthawan Hills with the bhikshu's bowl, etc., etc. The small topes discovered by me in the staircase or causeway leading to the Deoghāt Hill, I imagine, served chiefly for the deposit of images of Tathāgata. It will be seen that on opening one of them, I found three perfect figures, of equal size, differing only in position, imbedded in the ruins. The small chaityas vary in size, and were doubtless made to suit the purses of those whose means did not permit them to raise a lofty mass of brickwork "for the advancement of the highest knowledge amongst mankind." Some of them are circular, some octagonal, some twelve-sided, some oval; but nearly all of them are richly ornamented and bear several figures of Buddha. A very fine circular chaitya found by me at Kurkilār, the Kukkuṭapāda of Hwen Tsiang, contains more than forty figures of Buddha, all carved with wonderful sharpness and delicacy. The chaityas which were composed of a number of pieces linked together, must have contained as many as 500. These chaityas were originally surmounted by umbrellas, which were formed very frequently of separate pieces of stone, often possibly of metal, fitted into the top of the carving. The Buddhist images contain numerous illustrations of these chaityas, and I ha some

looking on the great trees and the forest, lovely as the gardens of the angels, ordered her litter to be stayed, that she might descend and walk. Then standing under one of the majestic trees, she desired to pluck a sprig from the branches, and the branches bent themselves down, that she might reach the sprig that she desired; and at that moment, while she yet held the branch, her labour came upon her. Her attendants held curtains around her, the angels brought her garments of the most exquisite softness; and standing there, holding the branch, with her face turned to the East, she brought forth her son, without pain or any of the circumstances which attend that event with women in general.'

To speak further of the symbols of Buddhism is quite beyond the province I have chosen. Every information on this subject, can be gleaned with ease from the learned writings of Schlagintweit and Alabaster, and I shall have occasion to say more about them when I come to speak of particular figures.

Fifthly.—Inscriptions. These vary from B. C. 200 to A. D. 1000, and are in most cases confined to the Buddhist creed. I have, however, discovered several dated inscriptions, which I shall give in full when I come to speak of the monastic buildings to which they belong.

I now proceed without any further introduction to give an account of the Buddhist remains in Bihâr.

IV. Kusa'ga'rapura and Rājagriha.

Neither Hwen Tshang nor Chi-Fah-Hiyan visited at once the capital of the Magadha kingdom. Both of them arrived there after spending a considerable time in the various monasteries of the surrounding territory. A description of the remains of those institutions will follow in future chapters; but I have thought it best for many reasons to commence my narrative with an account of the great metropolis itself.

The ruins of Rājagriha may conveniently be classified under two heads: 1st, the remains of the more ancient city—Kusagārapūra—situated within the Valley of the Five Hills; 2nd, those of the more modern city Rājagriha, which are found in the plain to the north of the mountains. The one I designate as the city of Bimbisāra, the other as that of Ajātasatru. These towns were visited by both the Buddhist pilgrims, by Fah Hiyan about the year 415, A. D., and by Hwen Tshang in March, 637, A. D. Hwen Tshang and Fah-Hiyan have bequeathed to posterity very detailed accounts of the monuments and antiquities both of the towns themselves, and the sacred range of hills which surrounded them. Their respective narratives are to be found in the "*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*," Vol. III, pp. 15–41, in the "*Histoire de la Vie de Hwen Tshang*," pp. 153–161; in Mr. Laidley's

translation of M. Remusat's *Chü-Fah-Hiyan*, pp. 261-279, and the Rev. S. Beal's original translation of the same writer, pp. 111-119.

According to the first named work, Hwen Tbsang travelled to Rājagriha from Nālandā, but the second states that he arrived first at the ancient town of Bimbisāra viā Bodh Gayā and Kukkuṭapāda; but both translations of the earlier pilgrim agree in taking him to the capital by the former route.

Nālandā was the largest and most important Buddhist monastery in India, and is identical with the modern village of Bargāon situated about six or seven miles to the north or north-west of Rājagriha. It is now the scene of a mass of the most interesting ruins, which have been fully described by me in a separate pamphlet.* Since the time that account was printed, fresh excavations have been made, and I trust one day to present to the public a still more complete account of these important Buddhistic remains.

I shall now proceed to follow in the first place the footsteps of Fah-Hiyan.

He writes "Going west from Nālandā one yojana, we arrive at the new Rājgir." This undoubtedly corresponds with the large circuit of fortifications (still bearing the same name) at the foot of the Baiḥār and Vipulā hills, situated six miles or thereabouts to the south of the Bargāon ruins. I, therefore, think the direction given by the translators must be a mistake.

Fah-Hiyan continues: 'This was the town king Ajāsat built. There are two Sanghāramas in it. Leaving the town by the west gate and proceeding 300 paces, (we arrive at) the tower which king Ajāsat raised over the share of Buddha's relics which he obtained. Its height is very imposing.'

The walls of the town and its gates are distinctly traceable at the distance of about half a mile from the foot of the mountain and directly facing the northern entrance of the Valley of the Five Hills. Its form is somewhat difficult to describe, and authors have varied in their attempts to do so, but after careful inspection from all points of view, and, what is still better, after studying its form from two of the hills above, I am of opinion it cannot be correctly called a pentagon, but is rather a quadrilateral, having, as measured from the top of the ramparts, three equal sides, viz., the north, west, and south, each measuring 1,900 feet, and one unequal viz., the east, measuring 1,200 feet. The wall appears to have had a uniform thickness of about 14 feet, and is composed of masses of stone about four feet square, the faces of which are made uniform and placed one upon the other in close contiguity, without any mortar or cement whatever. Starting from the north-east corner, where a stone bastion still exists in tolerable entirety, the wall remains unbroken for 200 feet, at the end of which distance a second bastion appears to have existed and similar traces are seen at the 300th foot. The remains of the wall now almost entirely disappear, but at the distance of

* Ruins of the Nālandā Monastery, by A. M. Broadley Calcutta, 1872

1100 feet from the north-east corner there is a portion of an entire wall measuring 20 feet by 14. Further on, the wall appears clearly to have been removed and hardly a trace of it remains till towards the north-west corner, where its elevation considerably increases, and there are enormous masses of brick, which lead me to the conclusion that a tower must have once existed here. At this place the bricks are very small and of remarkable solidity. At a distance of 110 feet from the corner there are clear marks of a bastion, and the same feature is observable at similar distances up to the great west door, some 500 or 600 feet from the north-west corner of the fort. The rampart throughout this distance presents an average elevation of 25 or 30 feet above the plain beneath. Just before the west door, a fine piece of wall still remains intact measuring 26 feet by 14. Passing out by the west gate and going 800 feet in a direct line to the south-west, and crossing about midway the Sarasvati rivulet, one arrives at a circular mound having an elevation of some 30 feet and a diameter of 180. The centre is considerably depressed, and seems to consist simply of masses of bricks similar to those on the ramparts and inside the fort. From the west side of the ruins a sort of terrace leads to a semi-circular heap of somewhat less elevation than the first. In the centre of this I discovered three large statues of Buddha, all headless but otherwise little mutilated; they are all seated on lotus-petal thrones, supported by bases ornamented by different devices. In one, several figures are seen in the act of making an offering; the centre of the second is occupied by the "Wheel of the Law," with a deer on either side, and the third bears the representations of two lions-couchant. These mounds are undoubtedly the ruins of the great tower mentioned in the text. I have made at the present time two incisions in the side of the topes, and have recovered from them some Buddhist idols of remarkable beauty, as well as a tablet covered with the representations of the nine planets.

From the west door the ramparts still increase in height, but the wall is hidden by masses of brick. Not far from the end of the western side, there is another break in the wall, exactly opposite which is a small temple containing a Buddhist idol, now worshipped by the Hîndûs as the image of Beni Mâdhava. At each side of the Sarasvati stream is a *pacca ghât*, and the ceremonies of "Goudîn" and "Pindâdân" are constantly performed here. At a short distance from this opening, the south rampart commences, and has an elevation nearly equal to that on the west. The wall is not straight, but inclines towards the north-east. At about the 500th foot from the south-west corner, there are unmistakable traces of an enormous brick tower, and 400 feet farther on there is a long piece of wall still intact, and terminating in the southern gate. From this point to the south-east angle the wall is clearly visible. It has an elevation of some 30 or 40 feet above the valley, and there appear to have been bastions at distances varying

from 100 to 110 feet. Opposite the south-east corner and at a distance of 50 or 60 paces, there are distinct marks of a ruined tower similar to the one near the western gate already described. The wall towards the east has a total length of nearly 1,200 feet, and the ruins have a very inconsiderable elevation. Bastions are clearly visible at the following distances from the south-east angle, *viz.*, 200, 320, 420, 520, 620, 720, 820, 920, 1020, 1120, and 1200 feet. Montgomery Martin considers the heaps of brick to be the remains of a second set of fortifications built by Sher Shâh, but I am rather inclined to regard them as the ruins of the ancient towers, the two monasteries, and the royal palace, which we know to have existed in the town and parts of which as well as other buildings were doubtless built on the city walls. General Cunningham gives a much larger area to the ruined city, but it must be remembered that he made his measurements outside the ditch, very faint traces of which are visible on two sides of the wall. I have endeavoured to trace carefully the rampart, and in many places removed the heaps of brick which covered it. In most cases I succeeded in uncovering the original wall, which uniformly presents a thickness of 1½ feet. As regards the outer walls which are said to have existed, if the heaps of stone which are found at different distances from the fort are traces of them, they are so imperfect that any attempt to follow them would be simply futile.

It now remains for us to see what Hwen Thsang said of the "new town." The description of the "old town" comes first in his account. After completing his account of the deserted city, he says: "En sortant par la porte septentrionale de la ville entourée de montagnes—Kouçagîrapura—il fit un li, et arriva au Bois de Bambous donné par Karandavénouvana. Il y a maintenant un Vihâra dont les fondements sont en pierre et le bâtiment en briques. La porte regard l'orient." This spot can be very correctly identified with the mass of débris found in the ravine, between the northern gate of the old town, and the southern entrance to the new. A large platform of stone-work still exists, and this is covered by a small pillared cell. It is, strange to say, still popularly called the Madrasah, or College,—vihara. He then distinctly mentions the stûpas referred to above. He writes, "A l'est du bois des Bambous de Karandavénouvana il y a un stoûpa qui a été bâti par le roi Ajâtaçatrou. Après le Nirvâna du Tathagata les rois partagèrent les reliques. Le roi s'en retourna avec la portion qu'il avait obtenue, bâtit par respect un stoûpa et lui offrit ses hommages. Le roi Açoka ayant conçu une foi sincère, ouvrit le monument, prit les reliques, et bâtit à son tour un autre stoûpa. A côté du stoûpa du roi Ajâtaçatrou il y en a un autre qui renferme les reliques de la moitié du corps du vénérable Ananda." This description agrees wonderfully with that given by me above, of the two tumuli to the west of the new-town, of the identity of which there

by irregular pathways overgrown with brushwood, which are yearly trodden by hundreds of Jain pilgrims from Murshidábád, Banáras, and even Bombay, who throng to Rájgir during the cold and dry seasons to do homage to the sacred *charanas*, or 'foot prints,' of their saints, enshrined in the temples which crown the mountain tops.

The north side of the valley is bounded by Mount Baibhár—a rocky hill running three or four miles north-west, and terminating at its eastern side in the hot wells of Rájgir. Here the valley is entered by a narrow ravine through the midst of which the Sarasvatí rivulet forces its way into the low country to the north of the hills. On the eastern side of the stream rises the lofty ascent of Mount Vipula, a branch of which runs as far as Giryak, a distance of six miles. Hardly a quarter of a mile from the western side of the hill, it is joined at right angles by a third mountain running from the north, called Ratnagiri. This hill is of inconsiderable length and terminates in a narrow ravine branching away to the east. On the opposite side of this ravine rises Mount Udayagiri, a less important hill, running due south and terminating in the ancient wall and fort of Bangangá, the southern gate of the ancient capital of Magadha. To the west of the torrent is the fifth and largest hill, Mount Sonár. It first takes a course to the west, then turns northwards, and finally, exactly opposite the narrow valley between Mounts Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, stretches away to the west, and forms the southern boundary of this natural fortress, being only separated at its western extremity by a narrow ravine from an offshoot of Mount Baibhár, commonly called the 'Chhátá.' These five hills are called in the *Mahábhárata**—Vaihára, Varáha, Vrishábha, Rishigiri, and Chaityaka; and in the Pali annals of Ceylon—Gijjhakuta, Isigili, Webbáro,† Wepulo, and Pandawo ‡.

Speaking of the valley, Fah-Hiyan§ goes on to say: 'From east to west it is about five or six *li*, from north to south seven or eight *li*.' It is evident that Fah-Hian excluded from his computation the eastern and western bifurcations of the valley, and even then its dimensions are slightly understated.

The description of the valley of the five hills given by Hwen Tshang|| differs very considerably from that of his forerunner. He tells us that the city was situated just in the centre of the kingdom of Magadha, and was in

* *Mahábhárata*, II 20, v. 799, 800

† Lassen suspects the reading *Vaibhára* by Turnour to be incorrect, and proposes to read *Vaihára* in accordance with the *Mahábhárata*. 'It is surprising,' he adds, 'that the first and last names are Buddhistic, and we may, therefore, suspect they were given to these mountains only after the time of Buddha.' *Altrth.*, vol. II., p. 79.

‡ Turnour, in *Jour. As Soc Beng.*, vol. VI., p. 296

§ Béal's *Fah Hian*, Chapter xxviii, p. 112

|| *Mémoires*, Tom. III., pp. 15-16.

ancient days the metropolis of the country. Its name, he says, was derived from a flowering shrub, which grew there in abundance. He continues: "De hautes montagnes l'entourent de quatre côtés et forment ses murs extérieurs. A l'ouest on y pénètre par un sentier qui existe entre deux montagnes; au nord on a ouvert une entrée à travers la montagne. Cette ville est allongée de l'est à l'ouest et resserrée du sud au nord. Sa circonférence est de cent-cinquante li (30 miles). Les restes des fondements de la ville intérieure ont environ trente li de tour."

This area would make the outer walls of the old town to extend from Gir-yak to the Chhâta hill, a distance of ten or eleven miles, and from the foot of the Udayagir and Sonârgir hills to the opposite side of the valley, a distance of two or three miles. From a careful examination of every part of the valley, I have little doubt that the whole of it, or very nearly so, was surrounded by the fortification of the ancient capital, but the inner town, (the ramparts alone of which I have endeavoured to trace) certainly did not extend further than the Nekpai embankment on the one side, to the Jarásandha band on the other. I will now proceed to describe as shortly as possible the present appearance of the valley of the "sweet-scented shrub."

The north side of the valley is watered by two streams, both bearing the name of Sarasvati, which rise, the one at the foot of Ratnagir, and the other at the western extremity of Mount Sonâr. These rivulets join a short distance to the south of the ravine which forms the entrance to the valley. The sides of the hills and the plain at their feet are covered mostly by a tangled mass of flowering shrubs and wild *tulsi* grass, broken only by some protruding escarpment or the white cupola of a Jain pagoda in the one case, and in the other, by heaps of bricks—the ruins of temples and topes, and the huge piles of stones which still mark the ancient ramparts of the city. The form of the walls can, with a little difficulty, be traced with tolerable accuracy. Strictly speaking, these ramparts formed an irregular pentagon about four miles in circumference. One side faced the west, and was about a mile in length, extending along the western branch of the Sarasvati; a second ran south to the foot of the Sonîrgir; a third east to the entrance of the ravine between Udayagir and Ratnagir; a fourth north, towards the junction of the streams; and the fifth and smallest joins the first and fourth. A road seems to have run through the city from the new town to Bangangâ. The northern side of the city, facing the ravine, appears to have been protected by a lofty tower composed of stones of irregular shape, placed one upon the other (not squared and arranged in courses as in the walls of new Râjgir). Near the stream appears to have been another tower of great height and of similar appearance, and close under it an outer gate towards the north. From this place an enormous wall, 18 or 20 feet thick

and 15 or 16 feet high, stretched itself to the summit of Mount Vipula, and protected the city from attacks on the mountain side. There were doubtless similar fortifications on the side of Mount Baibhār, but their traces are very faint, whereas those on the western slope of Mount Vipula are remarkably perfect and distinct. Over the whole surface of the interior of the city is spread a mass of débris covered by brushwood and shrubs, and here and there are piles of bricks and stones, denoting the site of some house or temple. Near the south-west corner of the city is a lofty tumulus, somewhat higher than the ruins of the eastern entrance. This is covered by a small Jaina cupola of brick and plaster. The sides of the tumulus are strewn with bricks and fragments of granite pillars. I also discovered some pieces of cornice covered with representations of Buddhas and Nāgis. I made an excavation on the north side of the tumulus, and uncovered a considerable portion of the northern side of a Buddhist building, of which the entrance seems to have faced the north—a feature I have not before met with in any similar ruin,—for the numerous temples which I have seen at Rājgir and other places are, without exception, approached from the east. A staircase of brick, with walls on either side, led to the inner hall. The walls appear to have been strengthened, and the roof at the same time provided with supports, by the erection of gray stone pillars, about four feet apart, with plain square bases and capitals. This passage led to a room about 12 feet square, containing twelve pillars similar to those in the staircase—ten of which are imbedded in the brickwork and two support the roof in the centre of the chamber. The centre hall is directly underneath the Jaina temple, and it consequently has been impossible to uncover it. I think the precise nature of the original building is doubtful; the position of the entrance leads me to the conclusion that it was most likely a house or tower, not a religious edifice. The doorway seems to have been surmounted by a long basalt slab containing figures twelve inches high. I brought away two pieces of this to Dibrār. Several other figures were found in this place years ago, when it was pierced by an avaricious road-contractor in the hope of finding treasure. If he ever learned the Jaina traditions connected with the place, his hopes must have been high, for they make out the tumulus to be the ruin of the house of Danāji and Sathadrāji, two scths, or bankers, in whose honour, they say, a small temple still exists on the eastern slope of Mount Baibhār. If the priests made their story known to this enterprising scion of the Department of Public Works, they cannot solely blame him for the disaster which followed on his researches, namely, the collapse of the stucco pagoda and its sacred '*chārana*,' towards the end of the succeeding rains.

About a mile to the south-east of the mound is a long piece of rampart known as '*Barghaut*.' In the centre of this was the southern gate of Kusāgarapura, flanked by two towers. The view from the top of the ruin

is very striking, for you see at once both entrances of the valley and all the five hills. A little to the west of this, at the foot of Sonárgir, is a ridge of rock called the wrestling ground of Bhím, and various indentations in its surface are pointed out as the marks of the feet of the combatants. Beneath this, to the west of the city walls, and between Mounts Baibhár and Sonír is Rapbhúm, the traditionary scene of the battle mentioned in the Mahábhárata.

A rugged path leads from this place to the southern outlet of the valley at Bangangá. Certain marks on the stones are considered by Captain Kittoe to be inscriptions, but if this be the case, the letters are far too imperfect to admit of being deciphered. The valley terminates in a rocky ravine of the most inconsiderable width, having Sonargir to the west and Udayagir to the east. The Bangangá torrent, which rises at the foot of the former, rushes over the slippery rocks into the southern plain of Hisua-Nowáda. The pass is literally only a few feet wide, and its entrance was jealously guarded by fortifications of enormous strength, which will be fully described when I come to speak of the antiquities of the hills.

The first mountain I ascended was Baibhār to the north-east of the northern entrance of the valley. At the foot of the hill runs the Sarasvatī, from the banks of which a large stone staircase leads to the sacred wells and temples, which, though still venerated by the Hindús of Bihār, yield but a scanty subsistence to the numerous Bráhmans who attend them. The wells are vaults of stone, about 10 feet square and 12 deep, approached by steps; and the temples are quite modern, and of the poorest proportions and workmanship. Most of them contain fragments of Buddhist idols, mouldings, cornices, &c., and here and there I noticed a *chaitya*, now doing duty as a *linga*. All of these carvings, however, are very inferior to those found by me in the mountains of Bargáon, Rohoí, and Kalyánpúr. The wells at the foot of Baibhār are seven in number, and are all clustered round the great Bráhmakund, which is larger, deeper and more highly esteemed than the rest. The one nearest the ascent of the mountain is the *Gangá-Jamuna-kund*. The water is warm, and enters the vault by means of two stone shoots, the ends of which are carved to represent the heads of tigers or lions. They remind one strangely of the *gurgoyles* of early English Architecture. These pipes were clearly mentioned by Hwen Thsang in the narrative of his travels. He says "à toutes les ouvertures par où s'échappe l'eau des sources, on a posé des pierres sculptées. Tantôt on a figuré des têtes de lions, etc."* Below this are the *Anand Rikhi*, *Márlanda*, and *Byás kund* springs. Next to these comes the *Sát dwára*—a vault some 60 feet long by 10 feet wide, which receives seven distinct streams on the west side, from the mountain above. Eight of these springs enter the reservoir through "tuyaux

Mémoires, Tom II, p. 23.

suspendus," and at the south end is a small subterranean temple containing rude and, apparently, very modern images of the 'Seven Rishis.' At the east side of the *Sât dwâra* is the celebrated *Brâhma kund*. The temperature of the water is about 105 deg. Fahr. It is in this that several hundred thousand persons bathe at the recurrence of every thirty-first lunation. Below this is the *Kâsi tîrth*, which is in reality a mere outlet for the waters of the *Brâhma kund*, which escape through it, still warm and steaming, into the *Sarasvatî* below. Climbing a distance of 276 feet to the south-west of the *Mârkhanda kund*, one arrives at an enormous stone platform projecting from the face of the hill. It is composed of huge masses of unhewn stone piled one upon the other, and is about 50 feet square and 28 high. At its base there are a number of small grottos six or eight feet square, of which two are in the eastern and five on the northern side. These were evidently caves or chambers of meditation, and are up to this day inhabited at times by 'nâgas' or 'sidhus', a *jogî* whose body is perpetually smeared with ashes, and whose wardrobe seems to consist merely of a very small waistcloth, a tattered umbrella, and a necklace of enormous beads. These beggars flock in thousands from all parts of India to Râjgir during the great fair, and are fed by the *Mahants*, or abbots, of the monasteries of Râjgir and Rajavali, who alone exercise the jealously-guarded right of raising their crimson standards during the month in which the gathering takes place.

To return to the stone platform. It is generally known as the *Jard-sandha-kâ-baiṭhak*, and on its summit are three Muhammadan tombs, one of which is said to be that of Râja Kâmdir Khân Main, whose life and adventures during the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries form the subject of many a rude ballad and story in Bihar, and which occupy almost the same place in the heart of the people as the tales of Robin Hood and his followers do at home. Behind this platform is a large cave. I searched for it in vain in September, but owing to the dense brushwood and jungle which covered it during the rainy season, I failed to find it. General Cunningham, however, was fortunate enough to light on it during his recent visit, and I have since completely cleared and excavated it. It is of oval shape, and has an opening to the east. Its floor was considerably below the surface, and was reached by a flight of eight or nine brick steps several of which I uncovered almost entire. The chamber measured 30 feet from east to west, and 26 from north to south. The roof (most of which has fallen in) was 18 or 20 feet high. The whole was lined, as it were, by a brick wall about 2 feet thick. In the midst of the rubbish which filled up the bottom of the cave I found a very perfect standing figure of Buddha in black basalt. I can, I think, satisfactorily identify this cave and platform with the account of Fah-Hiyan and also with that of Hwen Tsaung. Fah-Hiyan says—"skirting the southern hill" (and it is to be noted that this

part of Baibhār runs almost due south) "and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell, called the *Pipal Cave*, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in deep meditation after his mid-day meal."*

This corresponds exactly with the position of the cave in question, and this view is supported strongly by the succeeding sentence,—"going still in a westerly direction five or six *li*, there is a stone cave situate in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Che-ti." This description applies with singular accuracy to the Sonbhāndār Cave in the northern shade of Mount Baibhār, and almost exactly a mile from the *baīṭhak* of Jarāsandha. Hwen T'sang's account is still more striking,—"A l'ouest des sources thermales, on voit la maison en pierre du *Pi-po-lo* (Pippala). Jadis, l'honorable du siècle, y faisait son séjour habituel. La caverne profonde qui s'ouvre derrière ses murs était le palais des 'O-sou-lo—Asouras"† [of Jarāsandha?].

Pushing 600 feet further up the mountain side, I found another platform, or *baīṭhak*, almost identical in size and shape with that of Jarāsandha. The Rājwās call it *Sitāmuri*, but I could discover no special legend concerning it. Leaving it and climbing up a steep ascent to the west for a distance of about 1300 feet, one comes, quite suddenly, on a small Jaina temple built some few years ago by one Hukumat Rāi. Between the last *baīṭhak* and this temple there are marks of an enormous wall, 14 or 15 feet thick, and this forms the pathway which leads up the mountain side. The Rājwās, the sole inhabitants of the wild of Rājgir, called it Jarāsandha's staircase, and tell you that he built it in a single day to assemble his troops on the mountain tops on the approach of his enemies from the west. The temple contains (besides the usual *charana*, or footprint) two very fine and perfect figures of Buddha. The first is three feet high. Buddha is represented sitting on the lotus throne (*padmasana*) in the attitude of meditation. Beneath this, the *Sinhāsana* is divided into three compartments—the two outer containing lions, and the middle one the 'Wheel of the Law,' (very elaborately carved) supported by two shells. The second figure is a smaller one and is surmounted by a canopy.

Eight hundred feet to the west of this temple is a similar building containing nothing of interest. Twelve or fourteen paces to the south of it, I found the ruins of a very small Buddhist temple covered with the densest jungle. It appears to have contained twelve gray stone columns about six feet high. The entrance was to the east, and in digging out the centre I found a very curious image of Buddha—very roughly carved. The main figure was surrounded by smaller ones, each depicting some chief episode in his life. Piercing the jungle 400 feet to the south-west of this ruin, I found the remains of a very large temple almost perfect. The cupola had fallen

* Beal's *T'ah-Hian*, Ch. xxx., p. 117.

† *Mémoires*, Tom. II, p. 24.

down on all sides, forming a mound about 500 feet in circumference and 10 or 17 feet high. The entrance to the east is about 6 feet wide, and leads to a passage some 14 or 15 feet long, the roof of which was formerly supported by gray stone pillars about 6 feet high. This leads to a square chamber or hall some 23 or 24 feet square. Its roof is supported by twelve columns in the chamber, and eighteen more let into the brick work. These columns are each 7 feet high, with square bases and capitals and octagon shafts. They rested on a detached square plinth a foot high. A sur-capital, separate from the shaft, and cruciform in plan, supported the roof which was composed of enormous granite slabs laid transversely. From this room a massive doorway and a flight of three steps leads to the inner chamber—somewhat less in size than the other, but considerably loftier—the total height of its roof being 13 feet. The columns are of the same description as those in the outer hall, but more lofty. The detached capital are each a foot high, the base is 2, the octagonal shaft 6, and the second capital 3 feet in height. The lintel of the doorway is 2 feet broad and is carved with a rude moulding. In the centre of the lintel, is a figure of Buddha. I found no images in the temple, but it is by far the most perfect building of the kind I have yet seen. Its situation is magnificent, commanding at once a view of the highly cultivated plain of Bihār, the “solitary rock,” the topes and temples of Nālandā, the walls of new Rājgir, the five hills, and the valley of Kusīgārapura.

A short distance to the south of this is a very small Jaina temple dedicated to Dharmanātha and Shantinātha, the 15th and 16th *Tirthankaras*. It contains two images and a *charana*, with an inscription about 200 years old. The *pujāri* has corrupted the names to ‘Dhīnaji’ and ‘Sathadraji,’ and describes them as two wealthy bankers who lived in the house at the Nirmul kund, i. e. the mound in the south-west corner of the ancient city.

Continuing to ascend the eastern slope of the hill for nearly a quarter of a mile, we arrive at a Jaina temple of very considerable dimensions. It is square in form, and is surmounted by four handsome minarets and a cupola. It was built by one Pratāp Singh of Murshidābad, and a passage (*pradakshinā*) encircles the central shrine. There is also a small octagon chapel, containing *charanas* at each corner. The doorway has been taken from a Buddhist temple, and is covered with exquisite carving. The temple is 51 feet by 58. Some two hundred yards to the west of this is the largest temple of the group, built by one Mānikchand Seth in the middle of the last century. Mānikchand was a well known character in Calcutta, and his dedication is recorded on the *charana*. The building consists almost entirely of Buddhist materials. It has a vestibule, the roof of which is supported by pillars somewhat smaller in size, though of the same shape as those in the temple I have described above in detail. At the north side are

the remains of a Buddhist temple, probably larger than any other on the hill. Its pillars, &c., lie about in all directions, and it seems to have served as the quarry from which Mánikehand built his. A quarter of a mile further on, and near the crest of the hill, I had the good fortune to find another Buddhist temple in the jungle, about five paces to the north of the path. Its details resemble very much those of the great temple below, but a figure of Buddha still occupies the centre, and the foundations of a court-yard can still be traced.

Proceeding still westwards for nearly half a mile, the highest peak of the hill is gained, where is an enormous *tope*, covered with brushwood, and crowned with a Jaina temple. The view from the top is magnificent, especially towards the valley, the whole of which Baibhár commands.

Descending the almost precipitous southern face of the mountain, I arrived at the Sonbhandár cave, which is situated in the "northern shade" of the hill, as nearly as possible a mile to the south-west of the hot wells. I have little difficulty in identifying this with the Sattapánni cave spoken of both by Fah-Hian and Hwen Tshang. In doing so it must be borne in mind that the Baibhár hill runs due *south-west*—not 'west,' and that the Sonbhandár is near the northern end of the mountain. Fah-Hian says, that "going in a *westerly* direction five or six *lis*" (i. e., from just above the hot-springs) "there is a *stone cave* situate in the northern shade of the mountain, and called *Che-ti*. This is the place where 500 Rahats assembled after the *Nirvána* of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books." This coincides exactly with the position of the Sonbhandár cave, and it also agrees with Hwen Tshang, who places it five or six *lis* to the south-west of the Karandavénuvana clump of bamboos, which both authors represent as being close to the hot-springs. The words of Hwen Tshang are as follows—"au sud-ouest du Bois des Bambous, il fit cinq à six *liv*. Au nord d'une montagne située au midi," (this I have previously explained) "au milieu d'un vaste bois de bambous il y a une grande maison en pierre. Ce fut là qu'après le *Nirvána* de *Jaulai*, le vénérable Mahá Káshyapa et neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix-neuf grands Arbats formèrent la collection des trois Recueils sacrés. En face de cette maison, on voit encore d'anciens fondements. Le roi Ajátasatru avait fait construire cet édifice, &c."

The cave appears to have been formerly approached from the south by a staircase or sloping path, which has now almost entirely disappeared, and to have been faced by a broad platform nearly 100 feet square. This space was occupied by an extensive hall, the rafters supporting the roof of which rested in cavities in the rock that still exist. Piles of bricks and stones lie in all directions. The face of the cave has a naked surface of rock, as smooth and even as if built of brick. It is 44 feet in length and 16 feet high, and is bounded on the west by a protruding rock and on the east by

a narrow staircase of twenty steps cut in the cliff. The rock is pierced in the centre by a door 6 feet 4 inches high and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The thickness of the wall of rock is exactly 3 feet. At 11 feet 10 inches west from the door, and in a line with it is an opening in the cliff 3 feet high by 3 feet wide, which serves to light the vault. The interior is a vaulted chamber 33 feet long by 17 feet wide, with a semicircular roof 16 feet high. The floor has been spoiled by the water which constantly falls from the roofs. Outside the door, and three feet to the west of it, is a headless figure of Buddha cut in the rock, and close to it an inscription, in the Asoka character, recording the visit of some holy man to the cave in search of quiet and solitude. There are also some Devanagari inscriptions inside.

Inside the cave is a 'chaitya,' so curious in shape and design, that I think it worth while to describe it somewhat fully.

Its form is square with a conical top surmounted by a large knob. Each side is 1 foot 10 inches broad, and its total height is 4 feet 9 inches. On each face there is a pillared canopy, underneath which is a standing figure of Buddha on a lotus-leaf pedestal, with a miniature attendant on either side, each holding a torch. The hair on the head is knotted, and the body is covered by a long cloak. The hands, instead of being raised in the usual attitude, are held down close by the side. The attendant figures are elaborately dressed and ornamented. At each corner of the arch of the canopy are figures holding scrolls. In the centre of the canopy, and immediately above the head of Buddha, rises a pipal tree surmounted by three umbrellas. The bases vary in design; on either side, beneath the pedestal, is depicted the Wheel of the Law, supported on one side by elephants, on another by caparisoned horses (with saddles of almost European shape), on the third by elephants kneeling, and on the fourth by bulls. The conical top of the *chaitya* resembles the cupola of a temple.

To return to Mount Vipula. This hill rises about three hundred yards to the east of the hot springs previously described. Its direction is due north-east. The northern face of the mountain is a rugged cliff, and its western slope is but a little less precipitous. At the foot of the hill there are six wells,—some of which contain hot, and some cold water. They resemble in shape those of Mount Baibhar, and are called respectively Náná-kund, Sítá-kund, Sóna-kund, Ganeśa-kund, and Rama-kund. Nearly a quarter of a mile from these wells is a spring immediately under the northern face of the mountain. It is surrounded by a large enclosure, and its water is tepid. Passing through a courtyard, the visitor arrives at a small stone-cell in the rock, and immediately above this a flight of some eighty steps leads up the side of the hill to a platform paved with brick. This is the celebrated Makhdúm-kund of the Muhammadans, and Srिंगgi-rikhi-kund of the Hindús. This well is held in extraordinary veneration alike by Hindús

and Musalmīns, and is thronged by pilgrims all the year round. The spot is celebrated as the residence of Makhdūm Shāh Shaikh Sharaf-uddīn Ahmad, a saint, not only revered by the Muhammadans of Bihār, but by the followers of the Crescent all over India. The date of his sojourn at Rājgir was, as far as I can ascertain, about 715, A. H. The stone cell is said to be his "hujrah," i. e. the scene of a forty days' meditation and fast [Persian, *chillah*], and the platform above, the place of his morning and evening prayers. General Cunningham has been led into a strange error about this spot, and states it to have been *the duelling of Saint Chillah, a converted Hindū*.* I shall give a complete history of the life and writings of Sharaf-uddīn, in connection with the history of Muhammadan rule in Bihār.

About two hundred feet from the foot of the hill, almost immediately above the northern gate of the ancient city, and nearly half a mile south-west of the Makhdūm-kund, are the remains of an enormous brick *stūpa* or "tope," now surmounted by a small temple of Mahādeva. There is a similar ruin opposite this at the foot of Baibhar, and the bed of the ravine is also strewn with débris. I clearly identify these ruins with the description of Hwen Tshang :† "En dehors de la porte septentrionale de la ville, il y a un *Stoūpa* au nord-est de l'endroit où fut dompté l'éléphant ivre il y a un *Stoūpa*." Leaving this place, and going some few hundred yards to the north-east, one arrives at two small Jaina pagodas, built on a peak of the hill. The first is dedicated to Hemantu Sādhu, and the second to Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jainas, who is said to have lived and died at Pawapūri, eight miles north-east of Rājgir. Continuing to ascend the western face of the hill, one looks down on a rocky defile which separates Mount Vipula from Ratnagir. There is little difficulty in identifying this from the remarks of Hwen Tshang as well as by those of Fah-Hian. The former says,‡ "Au nord de l'endroit où *Che-li-tseu* (Śāripouttra) avait obtenu le fruit du Saint (la dignité d'*Arhat*), tout près il y a une fosse large et profonde, à côté de laquelle on a élevé un *Stoūpa*..... Au nord-est de la fosse ardente, à l'angle de la ville entourée de montagnes il y a un *Stoūpa*. En cet endroit, le grand médecin *Chi-po-lia* (Djivika) bâtit en faveur du Boudha une salle pour l'explication de la loi." Fah-Hian writes :§ "To the north-east of the city in the middle of a crooked defile, Djivika erected a Vihāra. Its ruins still exist." I believe these places to be identical with the remains which I shall presently describe.

Nearly a quarter of a mile to the east of the pagoda of Mahāvira, one arrives at the summit of the hill, which is exactly above the centre of the "crooked defile." At this place is an enormous platform 130 feet long by

* Ancient Geography, p. 456.

† Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 16.

‡ Mémoires, Tom. II., pp. 18-19.

§ Beal's Translation, Chap. xxviii, p. 113.

30 wide, and about 6 feet above the surrounding rocks. It is constructed almost entirely of the materials of Buddhist buildings—I counted more than 30 pillars in the floor alone,—and this is easily accounted for by a large pile of ruins at either end of the platform. The mound to the east is nearly 30 feet high, and its surface is bestrewn with pillars and stone slabs. The ruins to the west are undoubtedly those of a temple or vihára, and several gray stone columns are still erect. The modern Jaina temples on the platform deserve some notice, as all of them abound, more or less, in Buddhist ornamentation. The first of the series of four is only about 10 feet square, and is surmounted by a simple semi-circular cupola. It is dedicated to Chandraprabha, the 8th Tirthankara. The doorway is a fine specimen of Buddhist art. In the centre is a figure of Buddha under a canopy, and three parallel rows of exquisite geometrical pattern run round the sides. Above the door, a large ornamental slab, about five feet long and eight inches wide, is inserted in the masonry. It is divided into seven compartments, the first of which, on either side, contain figures of elephants, and the remainder—groups of figures in the attitude of the dance. This is almost identical with the ornamentation of a very beautiful doorway excavated by me from the mound at Dáphú, and which is now in my collection of Buddhist sculptures. The next temple is divided into two chambers, and is of considerable size. It is dedicated to Mahāvira, and both the inner and outer doors are very fine. The cornice of the latter is divided into nine compartments, in the first of which a man is represented in the act of dedicating a *chaitya*. The others are filled with the usual Buddhist devices. The top of the temple is pyramidal in shape. The next pagoda is faced by an open court, to the right and left of which are two slabs, the one covered with the representation of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and the other with those of the Nine Planets. The vacant space at the base of the carving is covered with a modern inscription in Nagari. The doorway is surmounted by a comparatively plain moulding. This temple is dedicated to Munisuvrata, the 20th Jaina Tirthankara, who is said to have been born in Rājgir. Inside the fourth temple are four *charanas*—two of them being of white marble. They are dedicated respectively to Mahāvira [or Vardhamāna], Pārshwanatha, Shanthanātha, and Kunthunātha—the 21st, 23rd, 16th, and 17th Tirthankaras respectively.

Leaving the temples and skirting the north side of the ravine, you cross a narrow ridge which brings you to Mount Ratnagir. The summit is crowned by a temple decorated with some small black basalt columns, elaborately carved. From this a stone staircase or pathway leads down the western slope of the hill to the plain beneath.

Between Ratnagir and Udayagir lies a narrow valley covered with jungle, situated, as nearly as possible due north-east of the ancient city,

and stretching away as far as Giryak, a distance of six or seven miles. I shall now proceed to establish if possible an identification of this valley, connected with the writings of both the pilgrims. Hwen Thsang writes as follows :* "*Au nord-est de la ville, il fit de quatorze à quinze li*" [2½ or 3 miles], "*et arriva au mont Kī-li-tho-kiu-tch'a (Gridhrakouṭa Parvata), qui touche au midi de la montagne du nord, et s'élève isolément à une hauteur prodigieuse. . Le roi P'in-pi-so-lo (Bimbisāra), voulant entendre la loi, leva un grand nombre d'hommes ; puis, pour traverser la vallée et franchir les ravins, depuis le pied de la montagne jusqu'au sommet, il fit assembler des pierres, et pratiqua des escaliers larges d'environ dix pas, et ayant une longueur de cinq à six li. Au milieu du chemin, il y a deux petits Stūpas : ... Le sommet de cette montagne est allongé de l'est à l'ouest, et resserré du sud au nord*" He then proceeds to speak of a vihāra to the west of the mountain, a colossal stone once trodden by the sacred feet of Sākhya Muni, a stūpa to the south, and a second on the summit of the mountain. Fah-Hian's description† is far less minute, but he gives exactly the same distance [*viz.*, 15 li], and speaks of two caves on the hill—the colossal stone—the Vihāra, and the lofty peak.

On the 20th January, I made an attempt to explore the valley. Clearing the dense brushwood and jungle as I advanced, I skirted the foot of Ratnagir for about a mile from the old city, and then struck across into the centre of the valley, and pushed on two miles further to the east. I then saw that to the east of Ratnagir there is another mountain terminating in a lofty peak, which towers above the summit of the surrounding hills. This mountain is called Deoghāt, and I unhesitatingly identify it with that mentioned in the text of Fah-Hian and Hwen Thsang. It adjoins the southern side of Vipula. In the middle of the valley, a stone terrace or staircase, about 20 feet broad, runs due north, towards the foot of the hill, for a distance of 900 feet. At this point it branches off to the east up the mountain side. At the distance of 300 feet from the plain, I found a small stūpa in the very centre of the staircase about 8 feet square, and in front of it three or four steps are still almost intact, each step being about 18 or 20 feet wide and a foot high. Near this place under a great heap of débris I found three images of Buddha almost perfect, but of the rudest workmanship. They are uniform in size, and bear inscriptions. From the stūpa the staircase continues to traverse the mountain-side for a distance of 800 feet. At this point I discovered a second stūpa and a large quantity of images, pillars, &c. Of these, the most remarkable are a figure of Buddha seated on a lion, a large Buddha seated on the usual lotus throne, and a standing figure of Buddha with a long inscription. All these idols have been remov-

* Mémoires, Tom II., pp 20-21.

† Beal's Fah-Hian, Ch. xxix, p. 114

ed to Bihār, and merit a much more detailed description. The terrace now becomes more broken, but its traces are visible up to the peak. From its commencement in the valley up to the summit of the mountain it measures, as nearly as possible, one mile. The south and west side of the hill are covered with the débris of houses, &c., and the solitary peak which crowns the hill is surmounted by an enormous brick *stūpa*. Though there is no natural cave in the southern face of the hill, as might reasonably be expected, the other features it presents are so remarkable that its identification is beyond a doubt, and besides this everything tends to show that the caves and grottos of Rājgir were mostly artificial.

Parallel with Ratnagīr and Devaghāt [or Deoghāt] runs Udayagīr. Two ramparts or walls seem to have traversed the valley. The first to the west now called the Nekpai-band, and the second stretches from the foot of Deoghāt, as before described, to the centre of the valley, and this seems to have been continued as far as the foot of the Udaya Hill. The slopes of this hill are more gradual than any of the others, and this accounts for the fortifications which surmount it. The steepest side of the mountain is towards the west, and it is through a narrow ravine at the foot of it, that the valley is entered from the south. The passage is very narrow, and in the centre runs the Bangangī rivulet, which rises from beneath Sonārgīr. The pass was strongly fortified, and the ramparts and bastions are still remarkably perfect, although they have been exposed to the devastations of the rain and sun for many centuries. Just within the valley are the ruins of the two towers, and at the entrance of the pass, where the width of the ravine is little more than twenty feet, two forts of considerable size—one on the slope of Udayagīr, and the other facing it, at the foot of Sonārgīr. The former measures 111 feet from the north to south, and 10 from east to west. From this point a massive wall, 16 feet thick (and still having an elevation of some 10 or 12 feet), stretches in a direct line due east to the summit of the mountain. I measured it to a distance of 4,000 feet from the commencement, and it thus appears to continue its course for more than two miles on the crest of the hill, then to cross over towards the north, and finally to pass down the northern slope, and into the narrow valley between Udayagīr and Ratnagīr, just opposite the staircase of Bimbisāra, which leads to the summit of the Deoghāt hill. The wall is composed of huge stones on either side, closely fitted together without cement, the centre being filled up by a mass of pebbles and rubbish. There are traces of Buddhist ruins on the top of the hill, and I found several images, and the remains of two large *stūpas*, and one temple similar to that on Baibhār. There is also a large enclosure containing five modern Jaina temples—the centre one square and the others triangular in shape. Each of the small ones contains a figure of Buddha bearing the creed, “ye dharma hetu, etc.” There are

large numbers of gray stone columns at the foot of the mounds above mentioned, and the spot has evidently been once the site of a Vihara.

Although five hills are stated both in poetry and history to have surrounded the ancient capital of Magadha, this can hardly be considered literally correct, and to maintain the old description, several peaks must be considered as forming part of the same mountain. Thus the rocky cliffs of Chhata, (or Chhakra,) must be deemed the eastern extremity of Baibhir, and the various parts of Sonárgir must be considered as portions of one great hill. Sonárgir, the most extensive, though the least lofty, of all the hills, begins at the south-east corner of the valley, and runs due east from this point till it reaches the centre of the valley just above the plain of the Rāphúm. From this point three branches stretch eastwards; the first inclining slightly towards the north, and forming the southern boundary of the valley of the five hills, the second runs due east and forms the western side of the ravine which leads into the Hisua-Nowáda plains, and the third turns first south, then again almost due east, and finally terminates, as I have before described, in the rocks and torrents of Bangangá. This was evidently the weakest point in the natural defences of the city; for an enemy who had once gained the entrance of the valley, (which appears to have been still further protected by a semi-circular wall outside it,) could easily pass up the gentle slope between the two last mentioned branches of the hill, and descend by an equally easy road on the northern side of the hill into the very heart of the valley. I ascended the hill on this side, and soon gained the summit, which, like that of Udayagir, is occupied by an enormous pile of ruins, and a modern Jaina temple. Inside the pagoda is a large figure of Buddha, bearing the creed, and also a comparatively modern inscription on the unoccupied portions of the pedestal. Several columns are lying about, and also portions of cornice and other ornamental carving. This was once, evidently, the site of some great vihāra or temple. Thirty paces south of the pagoda, one comes quite suddenly on the great wall, almost unbroken and entire. It is uniformly sixteen feet thick, but its height differs, at various places. It commences in the Rāphúm plain, and then runs in a direct line to the summit of the hill, a distance of 2300 feet. From this point an enormous embankment runs across the valley to the foot of Baibhār, and now bears the name of Jarāsandha's band. At the top of the mountain the wall turns to the east, following the crest of the central branch of Sonárgir, which now takes an almost semi-circular form, to a distance of 4100 feet. The wall at this point runs down the ravine, crosses it close to the source of the Bangangá torrent, then ascends the slope of the southern branch of the hill, and passes first along its ridge and then down its western slope till it ends in the foot to the west of the stream, as nearly as possible 12,000 feet from its commencement in the Rāphúm plain. The

fort at which it ends is about half the size of the one on the opposite side of the torrent. I have thus succeeded in tracing the great wall which formed the artificial defence of the valley; but strange to say, popular legends, so far from connecting it with any such purpose, make it the evening walk of the Asura king—the spot where he used to enjoy the cool mountain air after the fatigues of the day.

Before giving some account of the wild ravine to the west of the valley it may be interesting to say something of the Jaina pagodas which still adorn the hills. They are maintained and repaired by subscriptions collected all over India, and are yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims from Gwáliar, Bombay, Calcutta, and Murshidabad. They all contain *charanas*, or impressions of the sacred feet of the Tirthankaras—generally carved in black basalt, but sometimes in marble, and invariably surrounded by a Nāgarī inscription. I have taken copies of the whole of them, but many have become very indistinct, on account of the oil, gñi, &c., with which they are anointed. The following are specimens of them.* In the temple dedicated to Munisuvrata, on the Vipula Hill, I found the following.—“On the 7th of the waxing moon in the month of Kārtika, Samvat 1818, the image of the supremely liberated sage who attained salvation on the Vipula Mountain together with his congregation, was made and consecrated by Śrī Amrita Dharma Vāchaka.” In another of the series of temples:—“On the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Phālguna, Samvat 1501, by Santha Śivarāja, &c., of the noble Jātada race.” On Sonāgir —“In the auspicious Khaḍḍata Fort [*garh*], the image of Śrī Adinatha, &c.” The other inscriptions are similar, and the dates 1819, 1823, (on Udayagir) 1816, (Ratnagir) 1830 Samvat, occur. I will give one other at length. It comes from Vipulagir, and runs as follows:—“On Friday, the 13th of the waxing moon, in the month of Āswina, when the Śāka year 1572 was current, Samvat 1707, [A. D. 1650], Suyāma and his younger brother Gobardhana, sons of Lakṣmidāsa and his wife Vananīśāl, of the Vihāra Vastūvya family, of the Dopada gotra, caused certain repairs to be done to..... in Rājagriha.” Bībū Rājendraśāla Mitra remarks, that in this inscription all the proper names have the title ‘saṅgha’ prefixed to them, and this shows that the individuals in question belonged to a Buddhist congregation.

In one of the temples at the summit of Vipulagir I found the following:—“On the 7th of the waxing moon in Kārtika, this statue of Muḍhīgupta, the absolutely liberated sage, was made by Śrī Saṅga, on the “Śrī Vipulicāla hill, and consecrated by the preachers of salvation.” The Chārāga on Ratnagir bears the following:—“Om, Salvation. On the 6th of

* These readings and translations were made by Bībū Rājendraśāla Mitra, for whose valuable assistance I cannot be too grateful. +

the waxing moon in the month of Māgha, Samvat year 1829, Shī Mānikchand, son of Bulakidāsa of the Ganghigotra and Osa family, an inhabitant of Hūglī, having repaired the temple on the Ratnagiri hill in Rājagriha, placed the two lotus-like feet of the Jina Sri Parśvanātha there." I conclude with the oldest inscription, which is on Sonargir—"On the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Phalguna, in the Samvat year 1501 of the Jataḍa Gotra, Rāmamāla Varma Dasa, son of Sangha Mānikadeva, son of the wife of Sangha .. barāja, son of Sangha Būnaraja, son of Sangha Devaraja." [A. D 1447.]

The most recent of the inscriptions is dated as late as Samvat 1912, or A. D 1855.

The ravine on the west of the valley is bounded on either side by a range of rocky hills, terminating in a narrow pathway covered with almost impenetrable brushwood and jungle. The plain between the mountains is almost level, and is covered with bushes, and broken here and there by heaps of stone. A huge embankment stretches right across it, from the foot of Sonargir (exactly below the Jaina temple which crowns its summit) to that of Baibhār. The plain to the east of this is the Raṅbhūm. About a quarter of a mile beyond this a second *band*, hardly inferior in size and importance, traverses the valley almost at right angles.

The traveller Fah-Hiyan quitted the Magadha capital through the ravine and the rugged valley of Jeti-ban which lies beyond it. I have traversed the whole of the country as far as the hot springs of Tapoban, but a detailed description of it, does not find a place here, as it lies beyond the limits of "Bihār in Patna."

V.—From Tiladaka [or Tilasakya] Monastery to Kalyāṇpuṛ.

Hwen Thsang started from the east of Patna [Pātali] and proceeded to a monastery situated at a place called Tilasakya, but strange to say one account makes the distance thirty-five miles or seven *yojanas*, and the other twenty miles or one hundred *lis*. Although I am unable to explain this discrepancy, except by the generally inaccurate distances given by the writer, I have no hesitation in identifying this place with the modern village of Tillārah or Tillardah situated, as nearly as possible twenty-four miles to the south-west of the most easterly part of Patna, (which town is nearly eight miles long) on a narrow strip of land between the Kattār and the Sonā streams, two branches of the Phālgū River. The modern village consists of a straggling line of houses and shops running from east to west, but nearly a third of them are unoccupied and fast falling to decay. The town of Tillārah, however, still bears the signs of a period of prosperity which has now long since passed away. The ruins of a fine bridge of five arches still spans the now nearly dried up course of the Sonā-nadi; a splendid masjid composed

entirely of Buddhist materials is falling to decay on the eastern outskirts of the village, and the ruined verandahs, courtyards, and tombs, which meet the eye in all directions, serve only to testify to the fact, that even during the later days of Musalmán rule, Tillárah had not altogether lost its pristine importance. Hwen Thsang tells us a good deal about the splendour of the Tillárah monastery, when he visited it in February, 637 A.D.* He writes:—"The convent of Tillárah has four courtyards, and is ornamented with verandahs, three-storied pavillions, lofty towers, and a series of gates. It was built by the last scion of the house of Bimbisára, who was a man of more than ordinary attainments, and who assembled around him men of talent and worth for every quarter. Men of letters from distant countries flocked there in crowds. There are a thousand recluses here who study the doctrine of the Greater Vessel. In the road which leads to the eastern gate, there are three viháras, each of them surmounted by a cupola hung with bells. These buildings are several stories high, and are surmounted by balustrades. The doors, windows, rafters, columns, etc., are covered with bas-reliefs in gilded copper, decorated with still choicer ornaments. A casket of relics is deposited in each vihára. From time to time a supernatural light proceeds from these, and wonders and marvels occur there." The site of this once magnificent pile of buildings is now marked by an enormous mound of irregular shape, near the banks of the Sonánadi, about fifty feet high, and covered, I regret to say, with Muhammadan tombs. Nearly every grave that has been dug there, has yielded some specimen of Buddhistic art, and idols of brass and basalt are constantly found there. I have secured some very beautiful specimens of the latter, but the former are sold as soon as discovered and quickly converted into the heavy 'batisi' and 'kapa' which decorate (?) the wrists and ankles of the women of the lower castes of the Hindús. Few places in India, I feel sure, would yield more archæological treasure than this great Tillárah mound, and a shaft might be very well cut through it, without interfering with or in any way injuring the tombs on its surface.

At the eastern side of the village is a large masjid raised by a platform a few feet above the surrounding plains. This platform is composed almost entirely of pillars, portions of cornice, etc., which once belonged to some great Buddhist temple. The building is surrounded by a brick wall, and the enclosure is entered by a porch facing the east, both doors of which are purely Buddhistic. One bears an inscription of two lines, but is so much defaced as to be quite illegible. The word 'Samvat,' however, is decipherable. The masjid itself consists of one oblong chamber forty-one feet by twenty-two broad, the roof of which, is supported by three rows of pillars numbering fourteen in the centre of the building, while several others are almost com-

pletely imbedded in the brick work. The roof is nine feet six inches above the floor. Most of the pillars are about six feet six inches high, and have separate capitals and bases. They are surmounted by long stone beams placed transversely, which in turn support the roof consisting of huge slabs of granite and basalt. The pillars are of great variety of shape and design. Some are square, both at the capital, base, and shaft; others have square bases and capitals but simple octagon shafts, while others again are oval and covered with the richest ornament. Most of these exhibit great freedom of design, and several of them are of the most graceful form. The 'Sangi Masjid' (as it is popularly called) was built on the site of a Buddhist temple, and nearly all the graves dug around it, have yielded either figures, pillars, or portions of cornice and moulding. The Musalman of Tillārah refuses to bury in any tomb from which any idolatrous image or carving has been turned up, and for this reason a grave has sometimes to be dug three or four times over. Just outside the gate of the Sangi Masjid, a man pointed out a spot, which he said had been dug out for his father's grave, and subsequently abandoned because a large image had been found there. I ordered an excavation to be made in the place indicated, and came on a splendid figure of Buddha, unfortunately broken in three pieces, about four feet from the surface. The black basalt in which it was carved, is of the finest quality, and the features quite perfect. It has been photographed. Outside the doors of the masjid is a second enclosure containing the tomb of Sayyid Yūsuf Iqbāl, a Muhammadan saint who lived in Tillārah about two hundred and fifty years ago. He and his six brothers are greatly respected and revered by the Musalmans of the Tillārah district, and the tombs of the latter are to be found at the villages of Meawan, Mandāj, Abdālpur, Fathpūr, Parbalpūr, and Bibípūr.

Down to the time of Akbar, Tillārah was a place of some considerable importance, and the capital of one of the largest parganahs between the Rājgir hills and the Ganges. Its area is in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* stated to be 39,053 bigahs, and its revenue 2,920,360 dāms. It also had to furnish a force of 300 cavalry and 20 infantry.

Some of the finest figures and carvings in my collection come from the Tillārah monastery. I extract a description of them from my catalogue [No. LXII.]. Unmutilated alto-relievo figure in fine black basalt, two feet seven inches high, holding a lotus in either hand. On the head is a jewelled crown, conical in shape, with curious ornaments behind the ears. The hair is dressed in profuse ringlets. A garland passes over the left shoulder across the body. The earrings consist of two parts—a jewelled ring, passed through an oval hoop. There is a jewelled girdle around the waist. The body is covered with a tight jacket, having an ornamental facing. The legs are covered with pantaloons, and the feet with boots. A sword is girded below

the left thigh. Between the feet is a small grotesque booted figure, gathering up a set of reins in his hands and waving a whip over his shoulders. Below this is a row of seven horses galloping from left to right, and drawing a chariot. On the other side of the main figure are attendants, standing booted, and wearing curious caps and circular earrings. Above these, diminutive female figures are seen, discharging arrows right and left. The figure may be either Hindú or Buddhist." The next figure [LXIV.] is purely Hindú (for at Tillárah as in the Nalanda ruins Hindú and Buddhist idols are mixed together). Like the one last described, it is unbroken. It is "an alto-relievo in black basalt two feet four inches high, containing figures of Durgá and Siva. Siva is four-handed, and is elaborately dressed and ornamented. He is seated on a bull. The upper hand to the right grasps a lotus, while the other rests playfully on the chin of the goddess. His lower hand on the opposite side passes round her body and supports her left breast. The one above it grasps a trident. His right leg is turned outwards to the right, but the left one is twisted over the bull's head, so that the right leg of the goddess rests upon it. Her right hand passes round his neck, while the left grasps a mirror. She is seated on a lion. In his right ear is a circular ring and in his left an oblong drop. In her case the arrangement is reversed. His hair is rolled up into a ball first, while hers is dressed almost precisely after the fashion of George III's time." Another figure represents a twelve-handed goddess (quite perfect) with a Buddha seated in the hair. Each hand contains some weapon or ornament, *e. g.*, a string of beads, an arrow, &c. The creed is engraved above. This idol is unique as far as Bihár is concerned.

About four miles south-east of Tillárah is a village called Ongari, in which there is a splendid tank called the Súraj Pok'har. To the north of it there is a temple containing an image of Surjya, and a pit of broken Buddhist figures. Under a heap of bricks and rubbish, I picked out two idols of great beauty and differing essentially in design from those generally found.

About a mile and a half from Ongari, across the rice fields to the south, are the remains of a large town, called Biswak or Biswa. Like Tillárah, this place gave its name to a parganah which, according to the *Ain-i-Albani*, once contained 35,219 bighahs, and which stretches away nearly as far east as the banks of the Panchána. There are two enormous tanks to the east of the village, and two mud forts of considerable size and antiquity. To the north of the first tank is a long line of tumuli, which mark the site of some large Buddhist vihára. I cleared away one end of it, and came on a perfect heap of figures, some of them quite unique. With one exception (that of an idol of Ganesh) all the remains discovered by me were purely Buddhistic. One figure is eight-handed and somewhat resembles the many-handed divinity of Tillárah, and another is a Padmopáni Buddha nearly life-

size. Besides the figures, I dug out a *charana* almost like those of Rāja-grīha.

* Islāmpūr is about four miles to the south-west of Biswak and is still a very flourishing town, doing a good trade in rice and tobacco, and affording a resting-place for the pilgrims who pass down in great numbers from the north of Bengal en route for Gayā. To the extreme west of the village I lighted on the remains of a large vihāra, many of the granite columns of which still exist intact, but I regret to say that the bulk of the building was pulled down some years ago by the zamindār of the place, one Chaudhri Zuhūrul Haq, to construct the platform of his new masjid, and I am told cart-loads of figures, &c., were used for the same purpose. The old men of the place remember the time when the building was intact, and say it resembled very much the 'Sangī Masjid' of Tillaṛah and contained a Nāgarī inscription, and a great deal of sculpture. About a mile south-west of Islāmpūr, is a small village called Iechos, which was doubtless the site of a great Buddhist temple and vihāra. I found the remains of a tope close to the old mud fort, and saw in a garden a great figure of the ascetic Buddha; nearly six feet high. A short distance off, I found the remains of two very fine basalt columns, the largest piece being still six feet long. The base is 2 feet high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. Next to it comes a circular band or ornament one foot four inches wide, each corner being decorated by a sprig of very elaborate scroll work, the stone behind which is hollowed out leaving the inner circle unbroken. This is a constant feature in Buddhist pillars, and I found a miniature reproduction of this column at Logānī, a mile to the north of Bihār. Above the ornament in question, the shaft becomes octagon and there is a lion-rampant at each of the four corners. This portion of the pillar is two feet in height, and is decorated with small arched canopies and pillars about a foot high, surmounted by fork-shaped pieces of scroll work. Above this is second line of niches. The quality of the stone is very fine and holes have been rubbed in its base by persons who imagine its touch a sovereign remedy for swollen necks and throats! One mile south-west of Iechos is a large village called Mubārakpūr. To the south is a large tank and at its north-west corner a huge mound marking the site of a temple or vihāra of great importance. I moved away a great portion of the rubbish and succeeded in recovering a large quantity of very beautiful figures. Notably I may mention a basalt arch, with a gargoyle face for its (supposed) keystone and long lines of rich carving right and left, a figure of Jama, with a background of flames, and a large mixture of Hindū and Buddhist idols, more than forty in number. Several of there were unfinished, and others scarcely begun. For this reason, I suppose Mubārakpūr to have been the site of a the sculptor's studio.

About 300 yards to the south of the Mubārakpūr ruins is a village known as Afzalpūr Sarunda. Here again are the remains of a tope now

covered by a mud fort. To the south of the village is another large tank and I found several Buddhistic figures on its banks. To the west of it is a fine uncultivated plain studded with mangoe groves and stretching away as far as the eye can reach to the distant hills of Baribar. In the western outskirts of the plain, and not far from the side of the tank, are the marks of a large tumulus, and several Buddhist figures surround it. Following a road for about a mile to the south across the plain, I came quite suddenly on a large tumulus on the outskirts of a village, the name of which is *Lăt*. About a hundred yards to the east of this place, in the midst of a rice field lies an enormous column hewn from a single stone—*fifty-two feet in length*. The base is square, and seven feet long by three broad; the capital is of the same shape, but is five feet long and four broad. The shaft has sixteen sides, each about six inches in breadth. There is not a vestige of a temple or building in this plain of rice fields, in fact one might almost say as appropriately of it, as of the Sundarbân, that "there is no stone big enough there to throw at a dog." The appearance of this enormous solitary column lying by itself, half buried in the sandy soil which surrounds it, is very striking. The villagers of *Lăt* [the vernacular for 'a pillar'] have their own story about their venerated deity (for *pūjā* is daily offered to it), and it is as follows. More than a thousand years ago *Sibai Singh* reigned in *Tirhut*, having *Darbhāngah* for his capital. The king's servants were martial men of the *Rājput* caste, and his favourite was a soldier named *Ranjit Singh*. One day the king went to see the progress of the works at a tank which he was excavating near his palace, and *Ranjit Singh* was of his guards. The king and his companions began to throw up the earth and assist the workmen at their labour, but *Ranjit* stood aloof leaning on his spear. This provoked the king who began to chide him for his indifference. The soldier replied, 'I am by caste a *Khatra*, my business is to fight or to execute any great commission you may entrust me with—not to dig or build.' On this the king wrote a letter to the prince of *Ceylon*, who was no other than the mighty *Rājan*, and requested him to send two colossal pillars for the new tanks.* The execution of this order was made over to *Ranjit Singh*. Taking the letter, *Ranjit* made his way to the "golden island of the south," and having procured the pillars, enlisted the aid of the "*dhūts*," or supernatural messengers to convey them to *Tirhut*. These, although possessed of enormous strength could only travel by night. The first reached *Darbhāngah* in safety, but the bearers of the second tarried at *Sarunda* to get oil for their torches, and the dawn breaking upon

* To place a large pillar in the centre of a tank was a custom of the times. In a great tank just outside *Dihār* there is a column about twenty feet high still standing. This custom has hardly ceased to prevail. General *Claude Martin* erected a colossal pillar in the middle of the artificial lake which faces the Indo-Italian palace which he built in *Lathnan*.

them suddenly they fled, leaving their burden in the open plain." It is said that the kings of Darbhanga have often tried in vain to raise the Līṭ. Mitrājī Singh (who was alive in the time of Lord Cornwallis) spent large sums in endeavouring to remove it, but was at last deterred by an apparition of the pillar, which warned him in a dream that the accomplishment of his purpose would lead to his certain destruction. The village regard the Līṭ with the most superstitious veneration and declare the last time it was polluted by the touch of an unbeliever, the villagers were promptly visited a conflagration.

About a mile to the south-east of the Līṭ is a village called Dāphū, the site of a great mass of ruined temples, of which a long account is given in Montgomery Martin's 'Gya and Shahabad,' pp 97-100 I quote it in detail merely for the purpose of illustrating how quickly buildings, even of the most solid description, disappear, under the influence of the varying seasons of an Indian climate.

"Immediately west from the temple called Parasnath is a line of four temples running north and south. The two extreme temples of this line are said to be those of Kanaiya, the images of which entirely resemble those usually called Lakshmi Nārayan or Vasūdeva, and are very large. I believe that those which have two attendants on each side are usually called by the former name, and those which have only one attendant as this, are called by the latter, but I did not at first attend to the distinction, and cannot say whether or not it is generally observed. The temple furthest north consists of one chamber supported by antique columns of granite.

"The brick work had fallen and was rebuilt by Rājā Mitrājī's grandfather, but has again decayed a great deal. The door is of stone and is highly ornamented. The original sides remain, but the lintel has been removed, and its place supplied by one of the sides of the door of Parasnath which will perhaps show that before the repair was given, the temple had been so long a ruin that its door had been lost. The southern temple of Kanaiya is an entire ruin, but the image remains in its place.

"The central temple next to this is the most entire, and contains a large image, called Surya, and very nearly similar to that of Akbarpūr. On one side is placed the usual figure called Lakshmi Nārayan. The temple consists of a flat-roofed natmundir porch, or propylæum and of a pyramidal shrine or mundir. The roof of the former consists of long stones supported by stone beams and these by columns. The interstices of the outer rows are filled with bricks to complete the walls.

"The shrine, except the door is constructed entirely of brick. Both the door of the shrine and the stone-work of the porch are of much greater antiquity than the parts that consist of brick, which have probably been several times renewed; but there is no appearance that the image or stone-

work has ever undergone alteration; and this seems to be by far the most ancient temple of the district that still remains tolerably entire.The porch consists of four rows of columns, the interstices between the two outermost of which, as I have said, are filled up with bricks to form the walls. Round the porch, but not built into the wall, have been placed a row of small images intended as an ornament and not at all consecrated to worship.

"They were placed in the following order:—A Surya similar to that worshipped, Jagandamba, as usual killing a man and a buffalo, a Haragauri as usual, a Ganes dancing as that at Dinajpur, another Haragauri as usual, a Lakshmi Narain or Vasudeva, as usual; another Surya; a male called Vishnu, like Vasudeva but in armour; one called Gauri Sankar represents a male sitting between two females and leaning one foot on a crocodile. There is here neither bull nor lion as in the common Gauri Sankar, or Haragauri. Another Ganes, another Gauri Sankar or Haragauri. Another Ganes; another Gauri Sankar, or Haragauri, another Ganesa, another Gauri Sankar like the last, a Narasingha in the form usual in the ancient temples of this district, a strange male figure, called Trinikrama Avatar, which I have seen nowhere else; a female sitting on a bull and leaning on a porcine head which is called Varaha, but is quite different from that so-called at Baragang, nor have I seen it anywhere else; although among such immense numbers of images as are scattered through this district, many may have escaped my notice."

"On the outside of the door is a very curious sculpture, which is called Bhairau, but seems to me to represent a prince riding out to hunt the antelope. He is accompanied by archers, musicians, targeteers, women, dogs, &c. The animal on which he rides is by the natives called a sheep, but I presume, was intended to represent a horse. The last temple of the place immediately north to that of Surjya is an entire ruin, and has contained an enormous linga, before which is placed the form of Gauri Sankar that is common at the place."

To the south of the village of Dáphú is a large dried up tank, now a flourishing rice field. To the north of this is a huge mound covered with the densest jungle. I made an excavation through it, and found a colossal figure of Vishnu somewhat mutilated, and a doorway of great beauty. This has been photographed. It consists of three pieces. The two lintels are ornamented with boldly executed mouldings to the right and left, and towards the centre by lines of figures, apparently those of dancers and musicians. The chief feature of the upper cornice is a crowd of figures supporting a crown, extended over some object of veneration, which has been too much mutilated to admit of description. The musical instruments, dresses, etc., are precisely those of the present day.

Along the western side of the tank are the remains of a row of temples, four in number, of which two have yielded completely to the ravages of decay, and the sites of which are only marked by mounds of earth, broken pillars, and fragments of idols. The second temple still remains in a tolerable state of preservation, and the fourth, although very dilapidated, is still perfect enough to allow the spectator to form a correct idea of its size and proportions. The second temple of the row is built of bricks, rather smaller than those of Bargaon, and faces the east. There is a stone cornice at the top, and the entrance consists merely of a narrow opening in the brick work. This leads to a court or porch, twenty-three feet square, and ten high, as measured from the inside. The roof consists of long slabs of grey stone laid from east to west and covered with a thick layer of plaster. This is supported by sixteen columns, twelve of which are almost entirely imbedded in the brick work, while four are as near as possible in the centre of the building. These pillars have square bases and capitals and octagon shafts, and are surmounted by separate capitals oblong in shape, being about four feet in length, and about a foot thick. Various idols are grouped around the chamber. There is a distance of about six feet between the pillars. At the west end of the room is a very finely carved doorway (of which Montgomery Martin's drawing conveys a very incorrect idea). It measures seven feet five inches in width. The pillars on either side are two feet wide, and six feet high, and the slab which surmounts them is of about the same size. The whole is covered with a very beautiful geometrical pattern. The actual doorway is only two feet nine inches wide. It leads to a small chamber eight feet square, the roof of which has fallen in, but which I suppose was once covered by a dome or cupola. This contains a large *booted* figure of Surjya much mutilated, and a very perfect one of Vishnu, similar to those recovered from Bargaon, and now in my collection.

The whole building resembles most strongly the Buddhist temple discovered by me on the Baibhâr hill at Rājgriha, of which a full description has been given in Chapter IV. Strange to say, I only found two purely Buddhist images amongst the ruins of Dāpthú; but I have little doubt the temples were originally intended for Buddhist worship, and this is confirmed by the fact that several figures [most probably of Buddhas] appear to have been *deliberately removed* from the ornamentation of the doorway found by me in the mound to the north of the dried-up tank. The other temple has no inner room, but is otherwise similar in shape to the first. The lintels of the door (now fallen down) are very fine, and are almost identical with specimens from Nālandā in my collection.

Two miles to the south-east of Dapthú is another village, called Sarthua, where I found the remains of a tope (nearly levelled by time) and a figure of Buddha, now in my collection, and rather larger than life. It is in the

usual attitude, and the Buddhist creed is inscribed over the halo which surrounds its head. Four miles east of Sarthua is a place called Mahmûda, once the site of a vilâra. There is a large mound of bricks to the east of the village, at the top of which several granite columns have been collected and arranged, forming as it were a miniature reproduction of the Sangi Masjid at Tillârah. Leaving this village, and going seven miles to the north-east, I arrived at a hamlet called Sawra, which is exactly two miles to the south-west of the site of the once great Nâlandâ monastery—the modern village of Bargâon. We can now begin to trace again the foot-steps of Hwen Thsang, whom we left at Tillârah setting out for the Gunamati monastery, the sacred Pipal tree of Bodhi-Gya, and the other holy places to the west and south of the mountains of Râjagriha. We must now suppose for a moment that he has finished his inspection of the ruins of Kusâgârapûra, and having arrived within the precincts of “our sacred mother Nâlandâ,” is describing the neighbourhood of the convent,* “Au sud-ouest de Nâlandâ il fit huit à neuf li, et arriva à la ville de Koulika. Au centre s'élevait un stoûpa qui avait été bâti par le roi Açoka. C'était le pays natal du vénérable Mogalan-pouttra. A côté de cette ville il y a un stoûpa. Ce fut dans cet endroit que le vénérable Mogalan-pouttra entra dans le nirvana définitif; le stoûpa renferme les reliques de son corps.” *This spot can be most satisfactorily identified with Sawra.* I found there the remains of a large stûpa and nine very perfect Buddhist idols. I again return to the pilgrim's narrative.† “Après avoir fait quelque li à l'est du pays de Mogalan-pouttra il rencontra un stoûpa.” This must be Jagdespûr—one mile to the east of Sawra. This is strangely confirmed by the existence of an enormous tumulus there, together with a gigantic alto-relievo figure of Buddha, now worshipped as the goddess Ruklini. Hwen Thsang then seems to have gone twenty li to the south-east‡ and to have arrived at the town of Kalâpinika. “On y voit au centre,” he writes, “un stoûpa bâti par le roi Açoka, c'était le pays natal du vénérable Çaripouttra. Le puits de sa maison existe encore aujourd'hui. A côté du puits il y a un stoûpa. Ce fut-là que le vénérable Çaripouttra entra dans le nirvana. Un monument renferme les reliques de son corps.” *This corresponds almost exactly with the position of Chandimau, four miles south-east of Nâlandâ.* This singularly picturesque spot is situated about two miles from the foot of the Râjagriha hills and near the banks of the Panchâna. The surrounding country is well-wooded, and a beautiful tank forms the western boundary of the village, which possesses a large mud fort, said to have been built early in the last century by Kâmdâr Khan Maia of Râjagriha. To the south of the tank is the ruin of a stûpa, near which I found a pile of Buddhist idols—most of them much mutilated. I recovered, however, one very fine figure of Buddha, the description of

* Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 51.

† Mémoires, p. 51.

‡ Idem, p. 51.

which I quote from my catalogue. [XV.] Statue of Buddha, in black basalt, five feet three inches high, seated on a throne, divided into two portions. The upper consists of a double row of lotus leaves, and the lower is divided into five compartments—containing representations of devotees at either corner—then two lions-couchant and, in the centre, the Wheel of the Law supported by a deer on either side. The figure is seated in the attitude of meditation. The head is surrounded by an elaborate halo, above which rises a three branched pipal tree, on either side of the head is a seated Buddha, and on either side of the body, two attendants each two feet high, and most elaborately dressed. The one to the right has a diminutive Buddha, seated in the hair, which is twisted into a point. These figures are very richly ornamented with a spangled “dhūtī,” and highly wrought bangles and necklace. The usual flower garland surrounds the body, and a lotus is grasped in the left hand.” A little further to the east, I came on another large heap of Buddhist carvings—door lintels, chaityas, etc., and the pieces of an enormous Buddha as large as the Telia Bhandár at Nálándí, or the Sri Bullum Buddha at Titráwan. About half a mile to the south-west is another village—Kalyánpúr. There I also found ruins of more Buddhist buildings, and a number of idols. The principal of these was that of a goddess, five feet high and seated on a throne, almost exactly similar to that just now described. The figure is eight-handed and the breasts are mutilated. The waist is encircled by an elaborately sculptured girdle, from the centre of which a chain and jewel depends over the pedestal. A star patterned garment descends from the waist as far as the ankles of both feet. The left foot depends from the throne, and rests on a lotus blossom, supported by the head and arms of an attendant, while a second devotee holds a flower in his hand a short distance off. An elaborate ornament encircles the neck and the lower part of the arms. The hair is gathered up in a chignon on the top of the head, but ultimately falls in ringlets over the shoulders. Several of the hands are mutilated. The upper hand on the right side grasps a circular shield, and the wrist is decorated by two bangles. The second wrist is encircled by a ‘batisí.’ The third hand (having three bangles on the wrist) grasps a bow and the fourth a shell. The lower hand on the right side rests on the right knee; the next holds a sword, and has one bangle on the wrist. The third is ornamented with the batisí, and the fourth, having two bangles or armlets on the wrist, is in the act of drawing an arrow from the quiver. On either side of the heads are two attendants holding scrolls or garlands. Around the large figure were strewn innumerable fragments of Buddhas of all sizes. Three miles to the south-east of Kalyánpúr, one arrives at the foot of the Indra-Saila hill, which rises from the bank of the Panchina river, just above the village of Giryak. Here again the ‘the dis’ following the steps of Hwen-Thsang

but abruptly terminates at a distance of sixty or seventy feet from the entrance. This shows the tradition which makes the fissure in question a subterranean passage leading to a tower on the Indra-Saila hill to be perfectly erroneous. The atmosphere in the cave is most oppressive and, in addition to its being the home of a motley tribe of vultures and kites, a sulphureous smell proceeds from the rock which has a sickening effect on the explorer. Crossing the mountain in a north-easterly direction and passing over the wall [popularly called 'Jarásandha's band'], one comes quite suddenly on the eastern peak of the Indra-Saila mountain. This is crowned with a stone platform, about twenty-five feet high, one hundred and fifty long and one hundred broad, which appears to have been the site of a large vihāra and the usual temple. The wall of the vihara towards the east is still tolerably entire, and was originally composed of enormous bricks similar to those found at Nalandā and Rajagriha. Besides this wall, the remains of the temple towards the western end can clearly be traced, and several granite pillars in the vestibule are still erect. The whole of these ruins should be carefully excavated at the expense of Government, for the vihāra in question was one of great importance and antiquity. I shall afterwards have occasion to refer to the monastery again, when I come to speak of it in relation to Hwen Tshang's visit to the Indra-Saila hill. From the eastern door of the vihāra a broad stone staircase or roadway leads to the eastern peak, which is crowned by a brick tower, sixty-five feet in circumference and about twenty-five feet high. This edifice is generally described as the *baithak*, or resting-place, of Jarásandha, and the Asura prince is stated in popular tradition to have been accustomed to sit on this throne of brick while he bathed his feet in the Panchāna torrent a thousand feet below. The length of the staircase connecting the two peaks is four hundred feet. The eastern peak is called by the country people Māmúbhagna, or Phúlwāria pahār—the western, Hawēlia-Pahār. This brick tower rests on a square platform, now a mass of ruins, and there appears to have been a vault or well in the centre. I have not the slightest doubt that the so-called tower is in reality the remains of a stūpa, the outer portions of which have been ruined and removed by time. A deep incision has been made in the base, but I believe nothing was found there except a packet of Buddhist seals in wax. To the south-west of the stūpa are the remains of an artificial tank or reservoir, about one hundred feet square. This is popularly supposed to have been Jarásandha's flower-garden. From the ruins which crown the summit of the hill, a stone staircase or road leads to the plains beneath. This first stretches down the south side of the hill to a distance of three hundred feet, when one suddenly comes on a small stone stūpa; it then turns to the east, and after traversing a distance of sixteen hundred feet, I arrived at a spot where there are the ruins of a stūpa on either side of the path. Just

at this place there is a sort of plateau, which is crowned by the remains of a perfect cluster of topes. The path then continues to traverse the east side of the hill (passing two small modern temples containing footprints or *charanas* of Vishnu), and at a distance of eight hundred feet reaches the banks of the Panchána.

Dr. Buchanan visited Giryak nearly half a century ago, and a glance at his remarks will show the devastation which an Indian climate can bring about in a comparatively short time.*

"I now proceed to describe the ruins on Girebraja or Giryak hill. The original ascent to this is from the north-east, and from the bottom to the summit may be traced the remains of a road about twelve feet wide, which has been paved with large masses of stone cut from the hill, and winds in various directions to procure an ascent of moderate declivity. When entire a palanquin might have perhaps been taken up and down; but the road would have been dangerous for horses and impracticable for carriages. In many places it has now been entirely swept away. I followed its windings along the north side of the hill, until I reached the ridge opposite to a small tank excavated on two sides from the rock and built on the other two with the fragments that have been cut. The ridge here is very narrow, extends east and west, and rises gently from the tank towards both ends, but most towards the west, and a paved causeway five hundred feet long and forty wide, extends its whole length. At the west end of this causeway is a very steep slope of brick, twenty feet high and one hundred and seven feet wide. I ascended this, by what appeared to have been a stair, as I thought that I could perceive a resemblance to the remains of two or three of the steps. Above this ascent is a large platform surrounded by a ledge, and this has probably been an open area, one hundred and eighty-six feet from east to west by one hundred and fourteen feet from north to south, and surrounded by parapet wall. At its west end, I think, I can trace a temple in the usual form of a mandir, or shrine, and natmandir, or porch. The latter has been twenty-six feet deep by forty-eight wide. The foundation of the north-east corner is still entire, and consists of bricks about eighteen inches long, nine wide, and two thick, and cut smooth by the chisel, so that the masonry has been neat. The bricks are laid in clay mortar. Eight of the pillars that supported the roof of this porch project from among the ruins. They are of granite which must have been brought from a distance. They are nearly of the same rude order with those in the temple of Buddha Sen at Kanyadol and nearly of the same size having been about ten feet long, but their shafts are in fact hexagons, the two angles only on one side of the quadrangle having been truncated. The more ornamented side has probably been placed towards the centre of the building, while the plain side has faced the wall. The mandir

* Montgomery Martin's 'Gya and Sháhábád.'

has probably been solid like those of the Buddhists, no sort of cavity being perceptible, and it seems to have been a cone placed on a quadrangular base, forty-five feet square and as high as the natmandir. The cone is very much reduced, and even the base has been decayed into a mere heap of bricks. On its south side in the area by which it is surrounded, has been a small quadrangular building, the roof of which has been supported by pillars of granite, three of which remain. Beyond the mandir to the west is a semi-circular terrace which appears to have been artificially sloped away, very steep towards the sides and to have been about fifty-one feet in diameter. The cutting down the sides of this terrace seems to have left a small plain at its bottom, and an excavation has been made in this, in order probably to procure materials.

"Returning now to the small tank and proceeding east along the causeway, it brings us to a semi-circular platform about thirty feet in radius, on which is another conical building quite ruined. East from thence and adjacent is an area forty-five feet square, the centre of which is occupied by a low square pedestal twenty-five feet square divided on the sides by compartments like the pannelling on wainscot, and terminating in a neat cornice. On this pedestal, rises a solid column of brick sixty-eight feet in circumference. About thirty feet up, this column has been surrounded by various mouldings, not ungraceful, which have occupied about fifteen feet, beyond which what remains of the column, perhaps ten feet, is quite plain. A deep cavity has been made into the column probably in search of treasure, and this shows that the building is solid. It has been constructed of bricks cemented by clay, and the outside has been smoothed with a chisel and not plastered. Part of the original smooth surface remains entire, especially on the east side. The weather on the west side has produced much injury. To the east of the area in which this pillar stands, is a kind of small level, called the flower-garden of Jarasandha, an idea perfectly ridiculous, the extent being miserable, and the whole a barren arid rock."

This description of the ruins of the so-called tower, written when it was far less dilapidated than it is at present, confirms me in my opinion that the original building was a stûpa.

The ruins on the Giryak hill are undoubtedly identical with the religious edifices visited and described by Hwen Thsang. The subject is at once so important, and so interesting, that I quote from him in full.

"Après avoir fait encore trente li à l'est, il arriva à la montagne appelée In-to'-lo-chi-lo-kiu-ho-chan (Indra-cilâ-goulâ).

"Devant le couvent *du pic oriental* de la montagne, il y a un *stoûpa*. Ce couvent s'appelle Seng-so-kia-lan (Hañsa Sanghârâma). Jadis les religieux de ce couvent suivaient la doctrine du petit Véhicule, appelée la doctrine graduelle, et faisaient usage des trois aliments purs. Un jour, le Bhikéou,

qui était l'économe du couvent n'ayant pu se procurer les provisions nécessaires, se trouva dans la plus grande perplexité. Il vit en un moment une troupe d'oies qui volaient dans les airs. Les ayant regardées un instant, il s'écria en riant :

"Aujourd'hui, la pitance des religieux manque complètement; *mahā-sattvas* (nobles êtres), il faut que vous ayez égard aux circonstances."*

"A peine avait-il achevé ces mots, que le chef de la troupe tomba du haut des nuages, comme si on lui eût coupé les ailes, et vint rouler au pied du Bhikchou (de l'économe). Celui-ci rempli de confusion et de crainte, en informa ses confrères, qui ne purent lui répondre qu'en versant des larmes et en poussant des sanglots : Cet oiseau, dirent-ils entre eux, était un Bôdhi-sattva ! et nous, comment oserions-nous le manger ? Quand Jou-lai (le Tathâgata) a établi ses préceptes, il a voulu par degrés nous détourner du mal. Mais nous, nous nous sommes attachés à ses premières paroles, qui n'avaient d'autre but que de nous attirer d'abord à lui, et nous les avons prises pour une doctrine définitive. Insensés que nous sommes ! nous n'avons pas osé changer de conduite, et par là, nous avons causé la mort de cet oiseau. Dorénavant, il faut suivre le grand Véhicule, et ne plus manger uniquement des trois aliments purs.

"Alors ils firent construire une tour sacrée, y déposèrent le corps de l'oie (*hāṇsa*), et l'ornèrent d'une inscription, pour transmettre à la postérité le souvenir de son pieux dévouement. Telle fut l'origine de cette tour."

In the "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," the account varies but little from that which I have quoted from the older volume. The writer here tells us that the pilgrim went 30 *lis* from the stûpa of Sâriputra (*i. e.*, from Chandinau), and arrived at the Indra-saila hill. The valleys and caves of the hill were gloomy, but its sides were covered with luxuriant vegetation. The summit of the mountain was crowned by two peaks, and in the western one was a great chamber hewn in the rock. This answers with tolerable accuracy to the position of the Gidda-dwâr cave. He then proceeds to tell the same story of the miraculous forty-two questions which Fah Hyan relates of the "isolated rock" of Bihâr.

In my opinion General Cunningham's supposition that both hills are the same, is based on insufficient data, especially as one is called in Chinese *Siao-kou-shy-shan* (*i. e.*, the Bihâr rock) and the other *Yn-tho-lo-shi-to-kin-ho*, (*i. e.*, the Giryak hill),† which certainly seem to be far from one and the same thing. Putting aside all question as to position or language, I maintain that a glance at a description of the two hills will shew them to be entirely different. "*Siao-kau-shy-shan*" is distinctly stated to be the *little mountain of the solitary rock*,‡ while *Yn-*

* Vie de Hwen Thsang, p. 161-3.

† Laidley's Fa Hyan, p. 265.

‡ do. do., p. 264

tho-lo-shi-lo-kin-ho (otherwise rendered, *In-t'o-lo-chi-lo-kin-ho-chan*) is spoken of as a lofty mountain with "*caverns et vallées ténébreuses*."* In the one there is no cave—in the other there is.

I shall speak further on this subject, when I come to discuss the identification of Bihār, and hope to adduce such arguments as will put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt.

However this may be, it is quite certain that the great vihāra of the Wild Goose was one of the most sacred, and most popular of the Buddhist mountain-monasteries. I find it distinctly mentioned in the inscription of the Ghosráwan Vihāra, which dates from about the 9th century of our era. From it we learn that the pious Viradeva, after the completion of numerous acts of religious merit, "erected two crest-jewels in the shape of chaityas on the crown of Indra-saila peak, for the good of the world."

We must now wend our way towards the convents of the north-east of Bihār.

VII.—The Monasteries of Ghosráwan and Titra'wan.

The village of Ghosrawan lies exactly six miles to the north-east of the Indra-saila peak at Giryak, eight miles to the east of the great Nālandā monastery, seven miles south-east of the "isolated rock" of Bihār, and ten miles north-east of the ruins of Rājagriha. Although the Buddhist remains found at this place are of great interest, and the inscription, which lay amongst the débris of its once magnificent vihāra, is of more than ordinary importance, the name of Ghosráwan does not appear either in the pages of Buchanan or in those of the 'Ancient Geography of India.' The modern village is inhabited almost entirely by men of the Bhāban caste, who distinguished themselves by a small mutiny on their own account during the horrors of 1857, which ended in the total destruction of the village by fire, and the exile of a great portion of the insurgents. Although many years have since passed away, and the poppy and rice lands which surround it, are as luxuriant and fertile as ever, Ghosráwan has never recovered its prosperity, and roofless tenements and blackened ruins still tell the story of this "seven-days war." The Bhābans, which form such an important component of Bihār society, take their origin, according to tradition, from the days of Jarásandha's rule in Rājagriha, and are, down to the present time, as turbulent and litigious as history represents them to have been in former years.

The character of the caste has been severely handled by the national proverbs of the Biharis † and I cite two of them below, for they are interest-

* Vie de Hwen Thsang, p. 161.

† *بہن کتا ہاتھی* *تینون ذات کا گھاتی*

Bhābans, dogs, and elephants are always fighting amongst themselves.

سیل سوت ہرنس لے بیچ گنگ کی دھار اٹک لے باہن کہے تو نکرے اعتبار

Even if a Bhāban swam in the midst of the Ganges stream on the sacred idol, his son's head, and the Shāstras, he can in no way be trusted.

ing, as speaking of the men who now cultivate the fields, which once, I doubt not, yielded the necessaries of life to the recluses of the vihra of Virideva, described a thousand years ago, as being "as lofty as the mind of its founder, and which the travellers in aerial cars mistake for the peak of Kailása or the Mandara hill." Six hundred feet to the south-east of the village, there are the remains of four temples or topes, but time has reduced them to nearly a level with the surrounding plain.

On a line with these tumuli is a mud fort with a tower at either corner, which measures seventy feet from east to west, and eighty from north to south. In the middle of the village, about two hundred feet to the north of the fort, is a row of very fine idols commonly designated as the Singhabáni Thán. All the figures (with one exception) are purely Buddhistic. In the centre of them is an idol of Durgá, carved in black basalt. It is four feet high and three wide, and is more modern than the Buddhist figures which surround it, and very inferior to them in design and execution. The goddess is represented as seated on an enormous lion, whose mane curiously reminds one of the wigs in use by our Judges at home, when they go in state to Westminster-hall on the first day of Term. The right foot is drawn up in front of the body, while the left rests on a lotus flower. The figure is eight-armed, and each arm grasps the usual emblems. To the left of this is a very beautiful statue of Buddha, four feet high. The figure is seated in the attitude of meditation on a cushion covered with elaborate ornamentation, which rests on a throne supported at either corner by a lion-couchant. From the centre of the throne depends a cloth, the folds of which are inscribed with the Buddhist creed, and covered by the representation of a female goddess in the act of trampling upon an adversary, under the shade of an umbrella, held by an attendant from behind. On either side of the cloth, a figure (one male and the other female) is seen in the act of making an offering. The main figure is covered by a long cloak, and the hair is knotted. A halo surrounds the head. There is a cushion at the back of the throne. Above the head is a "chaitya" surmounted by a pipal tree. Around the main figure are eight smaller ones, seated in different positions on small thrones, six of these holding lotus flowers of different design; in one case a bud, in another a cluster, in a third a full blown flower, and so forth. The seventh grasps a sword, and the eighth a sword in one hand and an unfurled banner in the other. At the bottom of the figure, that is under the lions which support the throne, is a double row of lotus leaves, this being the very converse of the ordinary arrangement. The details of this figure are very curious, and I have never seen them in any other. At the side of it is a standing one of Buddha about four feet high. The body is covered by a long cloak and the hair is knotted, to the right an attendant holds an umbrella over the head, and to the left is a three-headed figure holding a bell in one hand and a torch in the other.

To the right of the Hindú idol is a figure of Buddha under a pillared canopy. The next to the right is a figure of Buddha, four and a half feet high, which resembles in almost every particular a still finer idol which I excavated from the ruins of the Vihára. This latter being now in my own collection, I refrain from any detailed description in the present case, but I may mention that the main figure is surrounded by five smaller ones, the first being seated in the hair and the others to the right and left of head and hands respectively.

Five hundred feet west of the Singhabáni, one arrives at the ruins of the vihara and temple. The former now consists of a mound, having a circumference of some 200 feet, and the latter of an oblong mass of bricks and rubbish, measuring 120 feet by 70 and about 15 or 20 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The mound is strewn with broken Buddhistic idols, and to the east of it was found a fine piece of black basalt one foot nine inches long, by one foot three inches broad, and covered by a very perfect inscription of nineteen lines. I have had the good fortune to secure a reading and translation of this, both by Babú Rájendralála Mitra and Professor Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandarkar, M. A., which I now give in original, and for which I beg to express my thanks.

I.—*The Ghosrávan Inscription. Transcript by BA'RU' RA'JENDRALÁLA MITRA.*

- १ श्रीमानसौ जयति सच्चितप्रवृत्तसन्मानसाधिगन्ततत्त्वयोगुनीन्द्रः । ज्ञेयार्थिनां
दुरितनक्रदुरासदान् संसारसामरसमुत्त-
- २ रणैकमेतुः ॥ अस्यास्मद्गुरोर्वा भूवृत्तलाः समूयन्तुं मनः का लज्जा यदि कव-
लो न बलवानस्मिन्निलोकप्रभौ । इत्यालोचयते-
- ३ व मानसमुवा यो दूरतो वर्जितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतदवताद्वेधो सवचासनः ॥
अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशेत्तमो न-
- ४ मरुत्तारइति प्रतीतः । तव द्विजातिरुदितोदितवद्भ्रजन्मानान्मेन्द्रगुप्त इति राज-
सखो भूव ॥ राज्ञाकया द्विजवरः समुणीर-
- ५ क्षिणा सुतो रराज कलया मलया यथेन्द्रः । लोकः पतिव्रतकया परिभाषना-
य सङ्कीर्तनं प्रयसमेव करोति यस्याः ॥ ताभ्यामजा-
- ६ यत सुतः सुतरां विवेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकबुद्ध्या । सर्वोपभोग-
सुभगोपि गृहे विरक्तः प्रब्रज्या सुगतशासनमभ्युपे-
- ७ तुं ॥ वेदानधेत्य सकलान् हतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमत्कनिष्कमुपगत्य सदाविद्या-
रं । प्राप्नो य एवमय सुप्रशमप्रशस्तं (स्थानं) सर्वज्ञानानिमग्नमुत्तम-
- ८ तपस्यचार ॥ भायं विश्वद्वगुणसम्भूतभूरिकीर्तिः शिष्योभुरूपगुणशीलयशोभि-
रामः । बालेन्दुवत्कलिकलङ्कविमुक्तकान्तिर्वन्द्यः

- ८ सदा मुनिजनैरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वक्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाय श्रीमन्महाबोधिमुपा-
गतेषौ । द्रष्टुं तथागात्सुहृदेभिस्तून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्धनं—
- १० पुरं विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्नयेह सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिमारः श्रीदेवपालभुवनाधिपलब्ध-
पूजः । प्राज्ञप्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताङ्गः पूयेवदारित—
- ११ तमः प्रभरो रराज ॥ भिचोरात्मसमः सुहृद्भुज एव श्रीसत्यबोधेर्निजो नालन्दा-
परिपालनाय नियतः सङ्गृह्णितौ यः स्थितः । यज्ञीतौ स्तु—
- १२ तमिन्द्रशैलमुकुट श्रीचेत्यच्छासणी श्रीपुण्यव्रतसम्भूतेन जगतः श्रेयोऽर्थमुत्थापिनी ॥
नालन्दया च परिपालितयेह सत्या श्रीम—
- १३ दिक्षारपरिहारविभूषिताङ्गा । उद्गापितोपि वक्रकीर्तिवधूपतिले यः साधुसाधुरिति
साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः । चिन्ताञ्जरं श्रमयतार्जजन—
- १४ स्य दृष्ट्या धन्वन्तरेरपि ह्रियेन हतः प्रभावः । यस्येप्सितार्थपरिपूर्णमनोरथे-
न लोकेन कल्पतवतुल्यतया गृहीतः ॥ तेनैतद्—
- १५ च छतमात्ममनोवदुचैर्वैद्यासनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । मंजारीयते यदभिबोध्य
विमानगानां कैलासमन्दरमदीधरश्चन्द्रशङ्खा ॥ सर्व—
- १६ सोपमयेन सत्त्वसुहृदामौदार्यमभ्यस्यता सम्बोधा विदितस्युहं सहगुणैर्विस्मर्दि-
वीर्यं तथा । अथस्तेन निजानिजा विश्ववस्तु पुण्याधिकारे
- १७ स्थिते येन स्वेन यशोध्वजेन घटितौ वङ्गबुद्धीचीपथे ॥ सोपानमार्गमिव
मुक्तिपुरस्य कीर्तिमेतां विधाय कुशलं यदुपागममात् ।
- १८ छत्रादितः सपितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेतु जनराशिरश्रेष्ठ एव ॥ यावत्कूष्मा
जलधिवलयं भूतधार्मी दिभर्ति ध्यानध्वंसी
- १९ तपति तपनो यावदेवोपरमिः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरसदृशा यामवत्यश्च याव-
तावत्कीर्तिर्जयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य शुभा ॥

TRANSLATION.

“From—Success to the auspicious sage Munindra (= Buddha) whose mind, bent on the welfare of mankind, has mastered the principles of morality, who is the only bridge for the oppressed to cross the ocean of worldly trouble, infested by the frightful crocodile of sin. Women, who are our sovereigns, cannot, even when they are all united together, reduce his mind: what disgrace is there then, if unaided, I am powerless to overcome the Lord of the Three Regions? So thought the mind-born Cupid and flew away to a distance from him. May that auspicious Vajrasana preserve the illimitable universe in the path of Buddhism! There exists an excellent country—the ornament of the regions of the north, and renowned as Nagaravara. There lived a courtier by name Indragupta, twice born by race [Drija] and descended from a very noble family. Spotless like Indra, he flourished, with his accomplished Rānī, the mistress of his household, whose name is reckoned the first, when people recount the virtues of faithful wives.

"A son was born unto them, who from his birth thought of the future world and who was necessarily dispassionate. He was dissatisfied with all the pleasures of home, and longed to attain the ordinance of Sugata by retirement.

"Having studied all the Vedas and reflected on the purport of the Śāstras, he repaired to the great monastery of Kanishka,* and acquiring there a knowledge of the dispensation of the all-knowing (Sarvajña = Buddha), the theme of praise of all intelligent people, he performed a penance. This person of spotless merit and manifold virtues, distinguished by all the qualities of a worthy disciple, resplendently free from the stains of this Kali * age, even as a young man, the lauded of all sages was VIRADEVA.

"Wishing on one occasion to offer his adoration to the adamant throne (vajrāsana) of the great auspicious Bodhi he came to this place,† and subsequently, with a view to cultivate the acquaintance of the Bhikshus of the country, repaired to the Vāsānuvāna vihāra.

"Abiding there for a long time, that person (Viradeva) who had made knowledge his only object, obtained the respect of the king of the country, DEVAPĀLA,‡ and flourished with daily increasing lustre, even as the sun, (Pushan) the dispeller of widespread gloom.

"He was as the soul of Bhikshus, beneficent even as one's own hand and the elect of Satyabodhi, he lived to promote the prosperity of Nālandā and the stability of the congregation (sangha). His virtues have made resplendent the *crown jewel of chaityas on the crest of the Indra-saila hill*, which promotes the welfare of creation by the dispensation of virtue, although addressed as the husband of many.

"Favoured for his meritorious deeds by the faithful and well-protected lady Nālandā, *whose person was embellished with richly endowed vihāras*, he was nevertheless praised as the pure and meritorious by all men.

"He, who curing by his look alone persons overwhelmed with the fever of destruction, cast into shade even the glory of Dhanwantari; he whom men, having obtained all the objects of their longing, looked upon as the all-granting Tree of Desire (Kalpa-taru), even he caused *this noble building (to be erected)*, lofty as his mind, for the greatest object on earth, the adamant throne of Buddha; (vajrāsana) a building which, when beheld by the travelers of the sky, leads to the impression of its being a peak of either *Kailāsa* on the *Mandara* hill.

"By him who had given away everything he had, and thereby became the most munificent among those who do good to mankind; who was the most

* See Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography,' p. 90.

† Ghosāwān.

‡ See Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra's note on the Nālandā inscription in my account of those ruins, published by the Government of Bengal.

ardent in the knowledge of Buddha, most emulous in acquiring high merit, who was fearless alike amongst his own people and strangers in *this ever-progressing virtuous region*, has raised this flag of renown in honour of his maternal and paternal races in the northern regions.

"Whatever fruits may proceed from this act, which may be likened to a flight of steps to the mansion of liberation, may the same be conducive to the attainment of the divine knowledge of Buddha by mankind at large, foremost by his parents and ancestors!

"As long as the tortoise supports the ocean-girt receptacle of matter, as long as the darkness-dispelling sun sheds his fiery rays, as long as the mild luminary continues to sooth mankind and the night, so long may this bright act of Viradeva prosper in this world!"

Babu Rajendralāla Mitra remarks, that the date of the dedication is not given, but looking to the character, the well known Kutila, and the allusion of Deva Pāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, the inscription probably belongs to the beginning of the 9th century. The dedicator was a recluse from the north-west frontier and bore the name of Viradeva. His native town was Nagarahāra, once a famous seat of Buddhism, but now in ruins. His father, Indragupta, is described as a friend of the king (Rājasakha), that is, as I take it, a courtier; but he must have held high rank in court, as his wife is styled a Rani, or Queen. Viradeva was of a religious turn of mind, and in early manhood retired from the busy world, to acquire a knowledge of the Buddhist faith in the Kanishka monastery, where he devoted a great portion of his life to study and penance, and to following the practice of his order. He started on his travels and came to the Nālandā monastery in Bihār, and afterwards dwelt for a time in the Vāsānuvāna vihāra, where he got himself noticed and respected by the king of the country, Deva Pāla.

Where the monastery was situated I cannot ascertain. It was probably somewhere near Mānikyala in the Panjāb or near his home.

II.—*The Ghosrāvan Inscription.*—Transcript by PROFESSOR RA'MKRISHNA GOPA'L BHANDARKAR, OF BOMBAY.

ॐ श्रीमानगौ जयति सच्चितप्रद्युम्नानसाधिगततत्त्वज्ञो मुनीन्द्रः । कृपाकृपा दुरितनक्रदुरासदान्तः संसारसागरसमुत् १

रणकसेतुः ॥ अस्यास्तदुरवो बभूवुरवलाः संभूय दत्तुं मनः का लज्जा यदि केवलो न बलवानस्मि विलोकप्रभो । इत्यालोचयते २

व मानसमुवा यो दूरतो वर्जितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतद्वतादुवाधौ स्वस्वामनः ॥ अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशोत्तमा न ३

गरुडार इति प्रतीतः । तत्र दिवातिरुदितोदितवर्षजन्मा नाकेन्द्रगुप्त इति राजसखो बभूव ॥ ४[?]कै[?]कया दिजवरः स गणी ४ ॥

दिष्ट्या युक्ते रराज कलया मलया यद्येन्द्रः । लोकः पतिव्रतकथा परिभावनानुसङ्कीर्तनं प्रथममेव करोति यस्याः ॥ ताभ्यामजा ५

यत सुतः सुतरां विवेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकाबुद्ध्या । सर्वोपभोगसुभगेऽपि
गृहे विरक्तः प्रव्रज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युपे ६

तुं ॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् हतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमत्कनिष्कमुपगम्य महाविहारं । (five
letters illegible) मयस प्रशमप्रशस्य सर्व्यश्रान्तिमनुगम्य ७

तपयचार ॥ मोयं विमुद्गुणमश्रुतभूरिकीर्तिः शिष्योऽनुरुपगुणशीलयशोभिरामः ।
बालेन्दुवत्कलिकलङ्कविमुक्तकान्तिर्वन्द्यः ८

सदा मुनिजनैरपि धीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाऽथ श्रीमन्महाबोधिसुपागतोऽपि ।
द्रष्टुं ततोऽप्राप्त्युद्देशिभिचून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्मा ९

पुरं* विहारं । तिष्ठन्नयेन सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिहारः श्रीदेवपालभुवनाधिपलब्धपूजः । प्राप्त-
प्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताशः पूषेव दारित १०

तमः प्रसरो रराज ॥ भिक्षोरात्मसमः सुहृदुभुज इव श्रीसत्यबोधे निजेनालन्दापरि-
पालनाय नियतः सङ्गस्थिते यः स्थितः । येनैतो सङ्ग ११

टमिन्द्रशैलमुकुट श्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीमण्यवतधम्बूतेन जगतः येथेयंमुच्छ्रापितौ ॥
नालन्दया च परिपालितयेन सत्या श्रीम १२

दिहारपरिहारविभूषितादग्या । उद्भासिताऽपि उद्भाकीर्तिवधूपत्तिव्ये यः साधु साधुरिति
साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः ॥ चिन्ताभरं शमयताऽर्जजन १३

स्य दृष्ट्या धम्बनरेपि हि येन हतः प्रभावः । यथेप्समितार्थपरिपूर्णमनोरथेन लेकेन
कल्पतरुतुल्यतया गृहीतः ॥ तेनैतद १४

च हतमात्ममनोबहुचैवैचासनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । संजायते यदभिवोद्य विमान-
गानां कैलासमन्दरमधीधरश्चक्रगङ्गा ॥ सर्व्य १५

सोपनयेन सलसुहृदामौदार्य[?] मम्यस्यता सम्योधौ विहितस्युहं सह गृणैविस्वर्दि-
वीर्य[?]न्याया । अचस्येन निजे निजाविद्य दृढतुष्ट्याधिकारे १६

स्थितो येन खेन यशोध्वजेन घटितौ चंशातुदौचोपये ॥ सोपानमार्गमिव मुक्ति-
पुर[?]स्य कीर्तिमेतां विधाप्य कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मात् [?] १७

ह्लादितः सपितरं गुहवर्गमस्य सम्योधिमेतु जगराशिरशेष एव ॥ यावत्सूक्ष्मा जलधि-
बलयां भूतधात्री विभर्ति ध्यानध्वंसी १८

तपति तपनो यावदेवोदरग्निः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरमदृष्टा यामवत्यस्य यावत्तावत्को-
र्तिर्जयतु भुवने योरेदेवस्य शुभा ॥ १९ ॥

TRANSLATION.

"Victorious is the glorious lord of Munis who, by his mind, operating for the good of all creatures, found out the system of truth and who is the only bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existences; which [bridge] the crocodiles of sins, producing affliction, cannot approach. May he, the

* The Rev. Dr. J. Wenger who kindly undertook the laborious task of correcting the proofs of these inscriptions, remarks that the word *Vāsanaūvana* does not occur in the text. The word actually used is *Jas'ovarmayā*, *varma* being the title of a dynasty of kings. *Vāsanaūvana* may of course be a synonym. The inscription appears to be metrical, but has not been printed as such. Strange to say, the Sanskrit is far purer than is usually found in inscriptions of the Pala Kings.

glorious being, seated on the seat of adamant (vajrásana) under the Bodhi tree, protect the whole universe,—he, whom the fancy-born (god of love) shunned from a distance, as if reflecting that there was no shame in it, if he single-handed were powerless to attract the mind of the lord of the three worlds, when his superiors who had gathered together, proved unable to do so. There is a country known as Nagarahāra, the land of which is the ornament of Uttarāpātha (Northern India). There was a Brāhman there of the name of Indragupta, the friend of the king, who was born in a family that had risen high. The meritorious and excellent Brāhman shone like the moon with his spotless digits,—united to a wife,—[one word illegible] a wife of whom mention is first made by people in going over the stories of faithful wives. From them was born a son who was exceedingly thoughtful, and whose mind even in childhood was filled with thoughts of the next world, and even in his house, rich in all the means of enjoyment, he remained unconcerned [took to no pleasure], in order, by the renunciation of the world, to adopt the system of Sugata. Having studied all the vedas and reflected on the śāstras, he went to the vihāra of Kanishka, and following him who was praiseworthy on account of his severity, and who was all-knowing and free from passions [two or three words illegible], he practised penance. The pupil of one who, by his pure virtues, had obtained great fame, he, Viradeva—graceful by the possession of befitting virtues, character and fame, and with a lustre free from the stains of Kali, was like the new moon, an object of adoration even to the munis. He once came to the great Bodhi to pay his respects to the vajrásana (adamantine seat), and thence went to see the mendicant priests of his country to the Yasovarmmapura Vihāra. While staying here for a long time, respected by all and patronized by the king Devapāla, he, having obtained* splendour [of knowledge or power], outfilling by his every-day rise all the quarters, and dispelling darkness, shone like the sun. Appointed to protect (govern) Nālandā, he, the friend of the Bhikṣu, as if he were his arm, abided by his true knowledge concerning the church† (or congregation—*saṅgha*), and having already taken the vow of a Śramana, erected, for the good of the world, two crest-jewels in the shape of *chātayas*, on the crown (summit) of Indra-saila. Though shining bright by means of Nālandā‡ who having been protected by him, had her body adorned with a splendid row of vihāras, he was praised by good people saying, “Well done, well done,” when he became the husband of the wife Great Fame. Dispelling the fever of

* The three epithets here have a double meaning, one applicable to the sun and the other to Viradeva.

† That it is of great importance to have a united church and to construct *vihāras* for congregational purposes.

‡ Compared to a wife.

anxiety of afflicted persons by a mere look, he put to shame the might of Dhanvantari* and was regarded as equal to a Kalpa-taru† by people whose desires he had fulfilled by granting to them all objects wished for. By him was erected this house for the best thing in the world, the adamant seat (vajrasana), as lofty as his own mind, which the movers in aerial cars mistake for a peak of Kailāsa or Mandāra, when they look at it. With his desires fixed on enlightenment (or true knowledge—*sambodhi*) and with a heroism rivalling his other qualities, he, practising liberality to the friends of all creatures by giving his all, and exercising his holy authority here, hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles of his family‡ (family of father and mother) in Uttarāpatha. Since in the shape of his famous deeds he erected a staircase to ascend the place of final emancipation and obtained religious merit, may all people without exception, headed by his father and all the elder ones, attain to real knowledge§ (*sambodhi*)! May the bright fame of Vṛadava last in the world as long as the tortoise bears the earth begirt with the seas, as long as the sun with his warm rays, the destroyer of darkness, shines, and as long as the cool-beamed moon renders the nights bright!"

In the middle of the east wall of the vihāra I found a very beautiful figure three parts concealed in the ruins. It is now in my collection at Bihār, and I extract the description of it from my catalogue.—"No. XVI. A magnificent alto-relievo figure in black basalt, eight feet high, probably of Vajrasattva Buddha [Schlagintweit, p. 53]. The feet rest on a lotus pedestal, and there is no throne underneath. The hair rises from the forehead, and is twisted into a pyramidal cone which is nearly a foot in height. In its midst a Buddha is seated in the state of contemplation. A jewelled frontlet passes from behind the ear over the brow. The figure is four-armed, and each wrist is ornamented with an elaborately wrought bangle or bracelet. Other jewels adorn the feet, and the upper part of the arms, or rather the root of the four arms, for the second pair appear only to spring from the elbows. Above the head two winged figures support a jewelled crown with three points. The upper hand on the left side grasps a lotus stalk springing from the ground, while the lower holds a large bell, the rim and clapper of which are ornamented with a bead-work pattern. The palm of the hands on the right side are turned outwards and exhibit the mark of sovereignty. The upper one grasps a "malā," or rosary. A ribbon, or scarf, three inches wide, passes over the left shoulder across the body. A cloth covered with a pattern of stars depends from a cord beneath the navel, and extends as

* Physician of the gods.

† A heavenly tree having the power of granting anything desired.

‡ The word 'vansa' means 'race or family' and 'a pole or bamboo,' and is here used in both the senses.

§ By means of his good deeds which serve as a staircase.

Giryak, the traveller arrives at the sandy bed of a once mighty river, the Sakri. On the opposite shore there rises a solitary hill—steeper, but less lofty, than the isolated rock of Bihár. Three sides of it are precipitous cliffs, the fourth a series of shelving rocks sloping away to the north. The summit is an even plateau four or five hundred feet square, literally covered with the remains of an enormous vihara, and of numerous stúpas and temples. Some of the piles of brick are thirty or forty feet high, and I found the remains of Buddhist idols in several parts of the hill. This rock is called Parabati, and a flourishing village of the same name lies at its foot. One mile east, or perhaps rather north-east of the "solitary hill," is situated the village of Aphasar. Aphasar is singularly rich in Buddhistic remains, and on its outskirts there is an enormous tumulus, seventy or eighty feet high. It appears to me to be the remains of a large temple attached to a vihára. I visited Aphasar in September, 1871, and recovered four or five figures from it. They all of them merit detailed description. The most important of them is a colossal male figure, [a statue, properly so called,] about eight feet high, and four-armed. The head is surmounted by a richly jewelled crown, almost identical in shape with the regal cap of Barma and Siam, from underneath which long ringlets fall profusely over the shoulders. The sacred thread [*poita*] is noticeable on the body, in addition to the usual ornaments. In my opinion, the figure represents some prince or general—certainly not a Buddha, or any Hindú deity.

Another remarkable figure is a large, and exquisitely carved *linga*, bearing on either side a face life-sized. *The style of carving is precisely that of the other purely Buddhist idols*, and it was found close to the tumulus, near the site of the colossal boar for which Aphasar is famous, and strange to say, close to the place where Major Kitteridge discovered an Açoka inscription of great length and value, but which almost immediately afterwards was lost. During my stay in Bihár, I made every effort to trace it, but without success, although I received every aid from my friend, Bábu Bimola Charan Bhattácharjya, then Deputy Magistrate of Nowáda. Bábu Bimola Charan has succeeded me at Bihár, and devotes much time and care to the preservation of my large collection of Buddhistic sculptures. Owing to his zeal in the matter (for which he deserves the thanks of all scientific men), there is now every prospect of the Bihár Museum becoming a permanent local institution, and he tells me that it has become a sort of place of pilgrimage for all the country round; in fact, the descendants of Açoka's bráhmans at Rájagriha are beginning to look on it as a serious opposition, and to tremble lest it should cause a diminution in their income. I take this opportunity of publicly thanking my successor for all he has done in this matter. To return to Aphasar. The Parabati rock, we must remember, is as nearly as possible thirteen miles south-east of Bihár, and the ruins I have just described, shew it to

have been a place, which, in Buddhist times, was second only in importance to Nālandā, Rājagriha and Bihār.

Travelling between three and four miles from Apsar in a north-westerly direction, one arrives at the great mass of ruins which marks the site of the Titrāwan monastery. Like the neighbouring monastery of Ghosrāwan, Titrāwan escaped the notice of Dr. Buchanan, and is barely mentioned by General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography of India.' A glance at the accompanying rough sketch map will shew at once the extent of these interesting remains, and will convince the archaeologist that they will repay a visit. We may here again return for a moment to Hwen Thsang. After leaving the Indra-saila peak, he is stated to have gone one hundred and sixty li to the north east to the monastery, known as *Kia-pou-te-kia-lan*, or the 'Kapotika [i. e., pigeon] vihāra.' Both General Cunningham and M. Vivien de Saint Martin agree in thinking the reading incorrect, and in substituting sixty for one hundred and sixty. This must of necessity be done, as the distance given in the text would have brought the pilgrim almost close to the bank of the Ganges. *Sixty li would coincide approximately with the actual distance between Giryak and Bihār, i. e., from ten to twelve miles.* Bihār is strictly speaking north-east of Giryak, and the identification made by General Cunningham is undoubtedly correct. That Hwen Thsang should have omitted to visit Bihār is extremely improbable; for we know of its existence nine centuries before, and its ruins at the present day vie in grandeur and extent with the remains of Rājagriha and Nālandā. The vihāra alluded to by Hwen Thsang appears to have been situated at Soh-Sarāī, a suburb of the city, distant less than a mile from the northern extremity of the "solitary hill." At Soh-Sarāī, I found several figures as well as a series of pillars thirteen feet in height [see Chapter VIII.]. I reserve, therefore, any further allusion to Bihar, until I come to describe the city itself. After leaving Bihār, Hwen Thsang proceeded to another monastery, forty li, or ten miles, to the south-east. The vihāra in question is described as standing *on an isolated hill*, and can be most satisfactorily identified with Parabati. Yet General Cunningham considers that the "bearing and distance point to the great ruined mound of Titrāwan," although the ruins are situated in a plain, instead of on a hill, *and there is not the smallest elevation visible within a circuit of five miles.* I have no doubt that it was viā Parabati and Apsar, and not Titrāwan, that Hwen Thsang quitted the confines of the kingdom of Magadha.

Approaching Titrāwan from Parabati, one arrives at the Digi Pokhar, an enormous tank, running almost due north and south, measuring 2481 feet by 767. Four hundred and eighty-four feet from the south-east corner of the tank is a large mass of ruins, measuring 650 feet by 400. Towards the southern side of this are the foundations of a large brick building

exactly a hundred feet square and apparently once flanked with a tower at either corner, like the smaller temple recently partly uncovered at Nālandā. The modern village of Titrāwan is to the east of these ruins. Four hundred and forty-five feet to the south-east of the building above mentioned is a small temple, around which were grouped upwards of two hundred purely Buddhistic figures, many of them of exquisite beauty. I shall give a detailed description of them further on. Two hundred and thirty-eight feet to the south of the temple is another enormous tank, running due east and west and measuring 1160 feet by 780. The distance between the ruined vihāra and the side of the pond is 505 feet. The tank bears the name of the Śrī Bullum, or Bhairau-Pokhar. At a distance of 500 feet from the south-east corner, and facing immediately the great mass of the ruins, there is a luxuriant pipal tree under the shade of which is a colossal Buddha. The figure is placed in a brick platform, which has evidently been frequently repaired, and is supported by a small brick tower, or buttress, built behind the idol. In front a flight of steps descends to the shore of the lake. The image has been broken in two and again set up. It rests on two thrones, the lower of which is six feet six inches long, and is in three pieces joined together by iron clamps. It is divided into five compartments. In the outer one on either side there is a lion-couchant, and in the centre a lion-rampant. The two remaining ones are filled by the figures of devotees in the act of making an offering.

The throne is exactly one foot ten inches high. The second throne is in one piece, and is one foot two inches high and six feet long. It consists of a double row of fourteen lotus leaves;—the Buddhist creed being inscribed on ten leaves of the upper one—a word in each. The letters of this inscription are about an inch long. The figure is in the attitude of meditation, and the hair is knotted. The nose is very little damaged. I give its dimensions in detail.

| | Feet. | Inches. |
|--|-------|---------|
| Top of the head to seat of upper throne, | 7 | |
| Round the head at forehead, | 4 | 7 |
| Across shoulders, : | 3 | 10 |
| Across forehead, | 1 | 2 |
| Top of head to chin, | 2 | |
| Round the neck, | 3 | 2 |
| Across chest, | 2 | 2 |
| Shoulder to elbow, | 2 | |
| Elbow to wrist, | 1 | 10 |
| Length of hand, | 1 | |
| Hip to knee, | 2 | 10 |
| Knee to ankle, | 3 | 1 |
| Length of foot, | 1 | 3 |

The body is covered with a cloak. The figure is highly venerated and has its *pūjoris* and rent-free assignment of land. It is worshipped under the names of *Srī Bullum* and *Bhairau*. On the east side of the tower behind it there are three niches; the first containing a figure of *Vishnu*, the second a miniature reproduction of *Srī Bullum* (except that three elephants take the place of the lion-rampant in the central compartment of the throne), and the third, a standing figure of *Buddha* with an elephant on one side and a *Bodhi-sattva* on the other. Four hundred feet to the west of the pipal tree, the bank of the tank runs to the north for a distance of some five hundred feet and then again turns to the west. In the angle of this piece of land I found the traces of a *stūpa* or *tope*, and a similar ruin is to be seen on the opposite side—exactly two hundred feet from the northern bank. The popular traditions of *Titrawān* are very poor. Any knowledge or recollection of Buddhism has entirely passed away, and the construction of the now ruined *vihāra* is attributed to a demon king—*Ban Asar Rāja*, who is also said to have consecrated the image of *Srī Bullum*. *Titrawān* must have been a monastery of no ordinary importance, and its position is even preferable to that of *Bargāon*. The country around it is well-watered and consequently fertile, and groves of trees surround it on all sides. From the towers of the monastery, the hills of *Giryak*, *Bihār*, and *Parabati* are distinctly visible, and the banks of the *Srī Bullum* tank are still covered at all times of the year with luxuriant verdure. This lake at sunset would even now charm every lover of the picturesque, and the effect must have been still more striking when thousands of recluses from the stately monastery which rose on its bank, left their meditations at evening time to adore and incense the colossal *Buddha* which they had erected in its northern shore and dedicated “to the greatest of all purposes.” I counted in one day at *Titrawān* two hundred figures of *Buddha* of all sizes and design; most of them bore the *Buddhist* crept in the characters of the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries A. D., and they were nearly all mutilated. I rarely found a single figure which I can confidently assert to be purely *Hindū*. Several of the *Titrawān* idols were beautifully polished, and not a few of them bore inscriptions of interest. Besides the ruins at the side of the tank there are the remains of a large *stūpa* in the centre of the modern village, two hundred and eighty feet from the south-east corner of the *vihāra*. The only *Hindū* figures I saw there were those of *Siva* and *Durgā*, commonly called *Gauri Sankar*.

I now proceed to describe the *Buddhist* figures recovered by me from the *Titrawān* monastery, and now in my collection. No. [CCCL.] A small figure one foot high, found in the mud at the banks of the *Digi Pokhar*. It represents *Buddha* in the state of *nirvāṇa*, reposing on a couch—one arm being under the head and the other resting on his side. The couch is supported by fantastically carved pillars. There are three attendants below; one has his head buried in his arms; the back of the second is turned to-

wards the spectator and he is apparently in the act of adoration, and the other is in the act of supplication. At each side of the body is a tree, and in the centre rises a circular stūpa on a square base terminating in a series of thirteen umbrellas. The Buddhist creed is inscribed on the face of the bed. [CXXLI.] The alto-relievo figure of a goddess two feet three inches high, not in any way mutilated—seated on a cushioned throne supported by lions at either corner. A cloth hangs down from the centre of the throne and bears an inscription. The figure is four-armed. The body is covered by a spangled garment which descends from a jewelled girdle below the navel. The usual ornaments are seen on the arms and neck, and a medallion is suspended by a chain from the latter. A scarf passes across the breast and shoulders. The upper hands grasp sprigs or bunches of flowers, and the lower hand to the left support a nude male infant on her knee. The opposite hand holds, what is apparently meant to represent, some sweetmeat or a cocoanut. The hair is elaborately ornamented. I take it to be the figure of Vasti, the goddess of fecundity, and I found an almost identical idol in the Bihār fort. There is an inscription on the plinth, of which the following is a reading—

ओनेन्तटी पामे सेविष्यु सुत उ[?] गोपती चन्द्रकन पुण्ड्रे खरो? चैमदानिक
[two letters] पु [?] ल [two letters.]

"In the village of Nentati by Gopatichandraka, the son of Sai Vishnu, and mistress [or master, lord] of Pundra Sai Mahanika.*"

[CCCXLII.] Portion of a figure of Buddha, containing merely the head—the surrounding halo [within which is inscribed the Buddhist creed], and a small kneeling figure to the left, holding a scroll, over which is inscribed the word Śrī Maḡālan. [CCCXLIII.] Elaborate pedestal of a figure of Buddha in the attitude of meditation [broken off]. A double row of lotus leaves springing from a very beautifully sculptured stem, amongst which are the figures of five devotees. The base is covered by a long inscription of two lines, but I almost despair of getting it deciphered, on account of its indistinctness. [CCCLXIV.] Alto-relievo figure of Buddha in black basalt, and polished to resemble marble, two feet eight inches high. The body resembles precisely that of the great figure near the lake. The throne is divided into three compartments—the outer ones containing lions—rampant, and the middle one two devotees and a figure of Buddha in a state of repose under a canopy. The background consists of pillars, and dragons—rampant. The head is surrounded by an halo, which is surmounted by a pipal tree and the Buddhist creed. There is a seated Buddha on either side of the head. [CCCXLV.] An alto-relievo figure in black basalt, two feet ten inches high, seated on a throne, along the face of which there is an

* All the characters are nearly obliterated.

Bilāditya at Nālandā.—[CXXVI] Remarkably perfect figure of Buddha, carved in the finest black basalt. There are no attendants, throne, &c. The stone around the head is of oval shape with a border. The hair is tufted, and the body is covered by a cloak which falls over the left shoulder. The body rests on a cushion encircled by a carved border. The reverse of the carving is almost covered with the drawing of an enormous votive chaitya surmounted by a series of umbrellas. This I think is almost unique and is undoubtedly worthy of notice. It may possibly be the representation of a chaitya at Titrāwan—[CXXIV]. Curious figured Buddha, two feet four inches high—seated in European fashion on a throne, the hair in tufts, as on the Indra-Saila peak, an attendant on either side of the feet, and a seated Buddha at each side of the head—[CLXII]. A slab of black basalt, two feet high, covered with a rude carving, intended to represent Buddha in the state of nirvāṇa under the sacred Bodhi tree.—[CCXXVIII]. A magnificent figure of Māyādevī in very fine black basalt, four feet three inches high. The pedestal is composed of scroll work of the most elaborate description. The hair is not turned up in a conical point as in the other figures, but is dressed in an enormous chignon which falls to the right. The busts are large, and the figure leans gracefully to the left. The various ornaments are of the most elaborate description. Five Buddhas surround the head. On either side are richly dressed attendants, armed, and leaning in the same position as the main figure; the one to the left has a background of flames. The plinth is covered by an inscription, as follows;

देवधर्माय परमभट्टारक[क्षेपासक?] भट्ट नाहो सुत भट्ट इच्छत्य यद्व पुणं
तद्भवतु मादपिष्टपूर्वकं सकलसत्त्वानुयच्छेय? नुव? राज श्रीरामपतिदेव समस्त वैशाख-
[शाख] दिने २८ सितासुत (about six letters illegible).

"This is a gift to gods, by the pious devotee Bhaṭṭa Ichchha, the son of Bhaṭṭa Naho. May the merit abiding in this, contribute to the welfare of all beings with his father and mother at the head! The second year of the king Śrī Rāmapati Deva; 28th day of Vaiśākha."

The characters in this inscription look comparatively modern.

No. IV. Fine standing figure of Buddha in black basalt, five feet eight inches. The pedestal is divided into five compartments, and is decorated only by a simple moulding. A devotee is kneeling at the right hand corner. The feet of the statue rest on a double row of lotus leaves. The figure is draped in a long cloak reaching to the knees, and a second garment beneath it extends to just above the ankles. On either side is an attendant, the one to the left holding an umbrella, the other (a curious three-faced figure) grasping a lighted torch in one hand, and a water-pot in the other. On either side of the head there are small seated figures of Buddha. Behind the figure, is a very exquisitely carved moulding resting on two

pillars which culminate in tulip-shaped capitals. There is a bead-like halo round the head, and a similar border encircles the stone itself. This figure came from the centre of the brick building, and always bore the name of the *Telia Dhobé* (an evil spirit?)

A mile to the west of the Digi pond at Titráwan is another village—scarcely less picturesquely situated—called Haragáwan or Hargáon [*Vihāragrām*?]. Here there is a large mound at the west bend of a dried-up tank. Several pieces of carving were lying about it, when I first visited it in September, and I commenced an excavation there. I uncovered a series of cells running north and south, each being twelve feet long by four or five broad, and the partition walls being of great thickness. In the first cell to the south, I found a splendid figure of Buddha, and I hope one day to completely uncover the mound. The Buddha I allude to, is No. XXVI, in my museum. It is carved in black basalt of a quality equal to marble. The body rests on a pedestal of lotus flowers, beneath which is a throne divided into seven compartments. These are again sub-divided by a line in the centre. The lower ones consist merely of brackets, mouldings, and cornices, and the upper ones are filled with figures. At the right is a female devotee; then a lion; next a grotesque figure (full face) supporting the moulding above, and in the centre the Wheel of the Law with a deer on either side. On the left side, in the place of the female figure, are two chaityas, with a small figure above. The signification of this is mysterious. As regards the dress, a simple sheet extends from the waist to the ankles, and its folds are gathered up in festoons beneath the legs. The head is covered by a conical crown, and the jewels on the body are very elaborate. To the right of the figure is a small image of *Máyádeví*, and above this a Buddha—standing and wearing a conical crown. There is a similar figure on the opposite side, and below it is a Buddha holding the *Bhikkshú's* bowl. The necklace is very beautiful, and there is a lotus blossom behind each ear.

VIII.—*Pawápu'ri* and *Biha'r* ["The Isolated Rock"]

We must next visit one of the greatest places of Jaina pilgrimage—*Pawápu'ri*, situated about three miles to the west of Hargáon and Titráwan, near the dried-up course of the Panchana, and as nearly as possible due south of the "solitary hill" of *Biha'r*. *Pawápu'ri* is, strange to say, singularly destitute of archaeological interest. The great temple of Mahavira is a modern construction,—a glaring mass of brick and plaster, totally void of any beauty or architectural merit. Its lodging-houses, garden, "nauratan" summer-house, &c., all date within the past thirty years, and look as if the workmen had only left them yesterday. To the south of the village, and near the shores of the famous *Pawapuri* tank, I detected the remains of a tumulus, but its materials have been ruthlessly used up in the construction of

a great circular platform, which you are gravely assured to have been the actual scene of the preaching and teaching of the famous Jaina Tirthankara himself. In the village I found a few Buddhist idols which probably came from this place. Opposite the "chabútra," or "pulpit," of Mahāvira is an enormous tank, covered with the lotus flower and other luxuriant water plants, and in which myriads of fish swim undisturbed by the apprehension of inimical net or hook; for their preservation seems to be the only care of the pujári and his assistants. In the centre of the pond is a second temple still less attractive than the first, built in the centre of a stone platform, which is connected with the shore by a narrow stone causeway five hundred and fifty feet long. This temple is resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India, and is the scene of a great melá in the month of Kártika. Many of the visitors are the inhabitants of native states, subjects of Sindhia and Holkar, and it must be a dreadful undertaking for them to pass through the tract of country south of the rail before the autumn sun has dried up the floods, which make the once famous Bihár almost inaccessible during the rainy season. A good road from Bakhtiarpur to Bihar would be of infinite service to the country, and its completion is worthy of the attention of Government. Without it, the lakhs of rupees which have been spent on the roads from Giryak to Rájauli and from Giryak to Munger, have been simply wasted.

Six miles north of the birth-place of Mahāvira Swámi is situated Bihár,—once a famous seat of Buddhistic lore and at the same time doubtless the capital of a Hindú or Buddhist prince;—later still, the metropolis of one of the richest and most powerful of Muhammadan states—and now the decayed and ruined chief station of the subdivision of Zila' Patna which bears its name. To the west of the town runs the Panchána, now represented merely by a sandy hollow, winding round the foot of the solitary hill to the north-west of the town. From the main stream no less than five rivulets branched off to the east, intersecting the town in different places, and adding not a little to the picturesqueness of its appearance. All of these have long since dried up, and with its river seems to have ended the prosperity of Bihár.

For years a great sand-bank has been silting up in the bed of the stream just below Pawápúri; which forces all the water into the *pynes* to the east, and renders the country to the south an arid waste. Even at the height of the rains the most feeble stream with difficulty forces its way along the deserted bed, and at all other times of the year not a particle of water is visible. To the north-east of the town is the hill, appropriately described more than fifteen hundred years ago as an "isolated rock." The southern slope is gradual, a staircase of boulders piled one upon the other, more like the work of some architect of the past, the effect of volcanic agency. The other side is a cliff, the side of which is varied by enormous rocks, some perpendicular and boldly darting into the air, others lying in heterogeneous

piles at the foot of the precipice. Seen in the glare of the midday sun the Bihār hill would fail to impress the traveller, but when the shades of evening fall upon it, and darkness begins to gather around its caves and rocks, it would be difficult to describe its beauty. Before leaving the solitary hill, or speaking of its ruins, we must again seek for aid in the pages of Fah-Hiyan. I follow the text of Mr. Beal's translation, page 110, chapter 28. "From this city [Patna] proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine yojanas, we arrive at a *small rocky hill standing by itself*, on the top of which is a stone cell facing the south. On the occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the divine Sekra took with him his attendant musicians, each one provided with a five-stringed lute, and caused them to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was seated. Then the divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist. There is also a Sañghārāma built upon this spot. Going south-west from this one yojana we arrive at the village of Nā-lo."

This hill is identified by General Cunningham with Giryak. "The remains of Giryak," he writes, "appear to me to *correspond exactly* with the accounts given by Fah-Hiyan of the Hill of the Isolated Rock." His reasons are twofold, 1st, the position, and 2nd, the supposed etymology of Giryak, i. e., *giri-eka = ek giri*. I have already given several reasons for my differing with General Cunningham as to this identification, and I now proceed to adduce others.

Firstly, at Giryak there is no solitary hill at all, nor any hill which can be described as resembling in any way an eminence of that description. At Giryak terminates the rocky range of the Rājgir hills, which stretch from the neighbourhood of Gayā to the banks of the Panchāna, on which the village of Giryak stands, and, as a matter of fact, the hill which rises above the village—so far from being solitary—is a mere offshoot of Vipulagir at Rajgir, and is not less than six miles in length.

Secondly, from the "solitary hill" Fah-Hiyan proceeded south-west, one yojana, to Nāla. Now Nāla has been identified most satisfactorily with Bargāon* by position and by the aid of inscriptions, but strange to say, Bargāon is exactly six miles north-west of Giryak. If General Cunningham's identification of Giryak be right, Nālandā must have been situated somewhere to the south of the Rajagriha hills, in the middle of the Nowādā valley, but he identifies it with Bargāon which is exactly north-west of the Rajagriha hills, in the centre of the Bihār valley. For this reason it is clear that "the hill of the solitary rock" could not be Giryak. The two identifications involve a dilemma, because no amount of argument can make Bargāon six miles south-west of Giryak, when actually

* 'Ancient Geography,' p. 469.

it is six miles in the very opposite direction. The identification of Nālandā with Bargāon (Vihāragrāma) is undoubtedly right, and as a consequence, that of the "solitary hill" with Giryak—undoubtedly wrong. General Cunningham writes as one reason for identifying Nālandā with Bargāon—"Fah-Hiyan places the hamlet of Nā-lo at one yojana, or seven miles, from the hill of the isolated rock, *i. e.*, from Giryak, and also the same distance from New Rājagriha. *This account agrees exactly with the position of Bargāon with respect to Giryak and Rājgir.*" Now in reality both translators agree in placing Nālandā to the *south-west* of the hill, and as a matter of fact Bargāon is *north-west* of Giryak.

General Cunningham must, therefore, rely on two arguments, 1st, the supposed etymology of Giryak, *i. e.* ek giri = one (= a solitary?) hill; 2nd, the coincidence of the fable of the forty-two questions. As regards the first, it is entirely opposed to all principles of etymology, and I feel sure no instance of a similar inversion of the numeral can be found throughout the whole range of Indian names. It must be of course admitted that Fah-Hiyan relates a certain incredible story about *his* "solitary-hill," which Hwen Thsang reproduces two centuries later in connection with *his* Indra-Saila peak, but the supposed event must be allowed to have happened, or rather to have been alleged to have happened, at least a thousand years before the visit of even the earlier pilgrim, and it is by no means improbable that the recluses of the one vihāra contended with those of the other for the possession of the actual site of so remarkable an event in the career of their great teacher. Scarce two centuries have passed away since Oliver Cromwell was gathered to his fathers, yet three museums at least lay claim to the exclusive ownership of his scull, while no less than half a dozen cities vie with each other for the honour, of being the birth-place of Dante, of Chaucer, and of Christopher Columbus. An accidental coincidence as to the locality, made the scene of a mythical fable, can scarcely be sufficient, to convert the end of a rugged chain of mountains into a "small isolated rock, standing by itself,"—especially when such an identification is diametrically opposed to given directions and distances, and to distinct nomenclature.

I have no hesitation in identifying the "solitary hill" with that rocky peak at Bihār, which rises by itself in the midst of the plain covered with rice and poppy fields, and which gently slopes from the northern foot of the Rājgir hills to the banks of the Ganges itself. My reasons for so doing are: first,—correspondence of the relative distance and position of the Bihār rock and Patna, and of the solitary hill and Pataliputra; second,—the agreement of the relative distance and position of the Bihār rock and Bargāon, and the "solitary hill" and Nālandā; third,—natural appearances of the hill itself.

Some great Buddhist fane once stood on the top of the Bihār rock. The dargāh of Malik Bayū Ibrāhīm, which now surmounts it, is

composed almost entirely of the materials of a Buddhist temple, and chaityas and portions of gateways, &c., have been found by me, both on its summit and at its base, and the traditions of the people still make it the site of a famous "Maghaia" [Buddhist?] Sanghat [monastery?]. Passing slowly one day towards the northern peak of the hill, I found a remarkable figure between the crevices of the rock. It is unique as far as my collection is concerned, and bears a dated inscription. I extract a description of the figure from my catalogue, No. CCXVIII. Buddha is represented seated on a lotus pedestal in the attitude of instruction, the five compartments of the throne which support the figure are filled by the representations of six devotees and two Nāgas who appear to be listening to his discourse. On either side of the principal figure, two other Buddhas are seated in European fashion. Close to the head of the main figure are small Buddhas, and on either side of the two seated Buddhas, two other Buddhas standing. To the right and left are groups of Buddhas similar to the main one, and above this, supported by four attendants, is a Buddha in the state of 'nirvāṇa,' and above this, there is a fourth group of three Buddhas seated in the same attitude as in the main group. The figure is two feet nine inches high, and bears an inscription on the plinth of which the following is Bābū Rājendralāla's transcript.

* 1st line. महाराजा * * महाशुक श्रीमन्मदन * * देव प्रवर्द्धमान

2nd line. जैनराज — सम्व * वैशाखदिने २५.

3rd line. * * * * धर्माय दान पत्रविके (४)

4th line. मरण स्वीक स मयिकस्यः ॥

"On the 24th of Vaisākha in the samvat — (?) of the Jaina king, the great king, the worshipful Śrī Madana (Pāla) Deva reigning. This deed of religious gift of — Sāmāyika."

This inscription is doubtless of considerable historical importance, and may well give occasion to various surmises to the religion of king Madana Pāla Deva, who is here spoken of as *Jaina*. May not he and his ancestors have been Buddhists?

The view from the solitary rock is most striking, especially during the rainy season, when the streams once more begin to flow in their deserted beds. During this time of the year, a series of melās, or gatherings, take place, which are very greatly resorted to both by Muhammadans and Hindūs. The view is bounded on the south by the rugged hills of the Rājgir chain, which stretch far away to the west, further than the eye can reach, and which, still covered with trees and flowering shrubs as of old, seem in the evening light to possess a purple hue as rich as that of the Apennines at home. To the east one catches, amidst luxuriant groves of trees, occasional glimpses of the ancient mosques and the still more ancient fort of Bihār, and beyond it stretches an even plain of rice and poppy lands till the gaze is arrested by the bold outline of the Shaikhpūra hills in Munger. The prospect to the north is

precisely similar, a plain broken only by groves and tanks, through which the Panchína once poured its water into the Ganges, and which is bounded only by the banks of the sacred stream.

The Bihár fort lies nearly a mile east of the foot of the hill, and it was between the fort and the hill, and along the banks of the Panchína river that the old Hindu city flourished. The shape of the fort is an irregular pentagon, and its sides were composed of large masses of grey stone, quarried, of course, from the neighbouring hill. The ground on which the fort stands is a natural plateau raised considerably above the level of the surrounding country. The wall appears to have been eighteen or twenty feet thick, and twenty-five or thirty feet in height, and its circumference measures eight thousand five hundred feet. The distance from the north to the south gate is two thousand eight hundred feet, and from the east to the west two thousand one hundred feet. There are traces of enormous buildings of brick in the centre, but of these I shall speak hereafter. There appear to have been few bastions projecting from the side; but the north gate, which is still tolerably perfect, was flanked by towers. The remains existing within the fort may be divided into three classes;—1st. The ruin of a smaller Muhammadan brick fort and houses belonging to the same period. 2nd. Those of Hindú buildings and temples. 3rd. Those of the great vihára, or college, of Buddhist learning. As far as this book is concerned, I shall speak alone of the latter. Nearly all the centre of the fort, on either side of the road which crosses it, is taken up by brick quarries. The proprietor of these pays Rs 40 a month to the zamindár, or owner of the freehold, of the fort for the exclusive right of excavating it, within certain limits, for bricks and brick-dust, the supply of which commodities seems quite inexhaustible. The workmen light daily, at a depth of from fifteen to twenty-five feet from the surface, on the entire foundations of buildings, composed of bricks of precisely the same shape and size, as those found at Nálándá and Rájagriha. The larger ones sell now-a-days for as much as two pice a-piece. In the midst of this mass of rubbish, Buddhist carvings are daily turned up. I have seen as many as four chaityas dug out in half an hour. The carvings found here are chiefly chaityas, votive tablets, and mouldings containing figures of Buddha in different positions. These chaityas are of all shapes, round, circular, square, and twelve-sided, and contain mostly the usual typical figures of Buddha. They differ greatly in design and some of them are very beautiful. A group of them appear in one of the photographs of my collection. They were probably all surmounted by umbrellas, or rather by series of umbrellas, which are generally broken off, and were in many instances carved in separate pieces of stone. The tablets alluded to vary from one foot to three feet in height, and generally contain one or more figures of Buddha under a canopy, and often bear the Buddhist creed. The cornices contain

long rows of Buddhist figures, seated under canopies in different positions with a moulding a little above and below. These latter are most graceful in design. I have several specimens perfectly unmutilated. The Buddhist creed is often engraved on the upper or lower moulding. It would be very uninteresting to attempt a description of all the carvings found in the fort, so I propose to mention merely the most remarkable. 1st. A figure of Padmapáni or Surya, in a very peculiar kind of white stone or marble, which bears *all the appearance of having been calcined by fire*. It is three feet seven inches high. The feet rest on a throne divided into seven compartments, in each of which there is the figure of a galloping horse. The head is surmounted by a conical jewelled crown, from beneath which the hair falls profusely on the shoulders in ringlets. Either hand grasps a lotus. The figure is ornamented with an elaborate girdle and necklace; a sword is girded on the left side and the dhútti is twisted very closely around the legs, and finally disappears into a pair of boots. An attendant stands on either side, and a small figure at each corner is seen in the act of discharging an arrow from a bow.—[LII]. Alto-relievo figure of Buddha seated in the attitude of contemplation, two feet six inches high, covered by an elaborate canopy, supported by pillars. The background within the arch consists of pilasters, dragons, and chaityas. Above the arch, and surrounded by scroll work, is a row of five niches, each containing a Buddha.—[LIII]. A very fine and unmutilated figure of Buddha, one foot eight inches high. An attendant is standing on either side and above their heads is a chaitya. The figure is surmounted by a pipal tree.—[LVI]. Upper portion of the canopy of a figure of Buddha, exquisitely carved. The niches in it are surrounded by the peculiar ribbed pattern which appears so prominently in the ornamental brick work of the great Nalanda temple.—[LVII]. A semi-circular slab of basalt containing thirty-three figures of Buddha seated in three rows, and in different positions, and precisely similar to those found at Nalanda. They evidently once formed portions of a complete circle of similar figures, and still bear marks of the metal clamps which joined them together. They evidently formed portions of a dedicatory tope.—The next piece of carving I have chosen for illustration is a portion of the canopy of a figure. The design is singularly graceful, and I regret the portions of it are too small and broken to admit of being joined together. Another remarkable piece of sculpture is a figure of Buddha under a canopy two feet two inches high, resting on a pedestal of lotus flowers supported by scroll work. The pillars have less decoration than usual, and there are no niches above the canopy. On either side of the principal figure there is a Buddha, seated in European fashion on a stool or chair, and on either side of the head is a small Buddha, cross-legged in the attitude of contemplation. There is a similar figure at the top of each figure. The chief portions of cornice found contain small

figures of Buddha under pillared canopies, but some are of different design, *e. g.*, one piece is divided into compartments by curious short pillars, with a ribbed pattern in the centre. The compartments thus formed contain alternately a lion-couchant and a richly caparisoned elephant. Another slab, seven feet long, contains grotesque dancing figures surmounted by plain mouldings. This piece is particularly worthy of note; for the costume depicted is almost identical with that worn by the jesters of the Middle Ages of European history. The next carving worthy of note is a figure of Padmapāni under a canopy, one foot four inches high. On either side of the central canopy were two carved panels. One is broken off, but the other exhibits a fine piece of scroll work springing from the hands of a grotesque figure. A seated figure of Māyādevī, one foot seven inches high, seated on a pedestal of lotus leaves. The legs are crossed, and the sides of both feet are turned outwards, and exhibit the royal signs. The hands rest on the knees, the left grasping a lotus stalk; the earrings are circular and the ornaments (especially the *śaśis*) are very large. A *spangled dhūti* descends from a jewelled girdle to the feet. There are small female attendants on either side; the one to the right being four-armed. Portion of the background of a figure of Buddha. A pillaster and part of an arch covered with the most minute and exquisite ornamentalia. Inside it a dragon and rider are seen in the act of destroying an elephant. Another specimen of the same sort of carving differing in detail and design from the last. As regards the square tablets containing figures of Buddha, they have been generally described at the bases of pillars, but I believe this to be wholly erroneous; for I found piles of them in front of the Nālandā temple, and they are met with in great number in the Bihār fort. I believe them to have been purely votive, serving exactly the same purpose and end as the chaitya. These are of inconsiderable thickness, generally oblong, sometimes rounded at the top. They vary from one foot to two or three feet in height, and are of proportionate breadth. Besides these Buddhist sculptures I found very few Hindū figures, the only one of them worthy of description being that of a bull, most artistically executed, and wearing a string of bells round the neck.

About one hundred feet inside the great northern gate of the fort once lay a broken monolith, about fourteen feet high, and oval in shape. General Cunningham gives an account of it [*vide* Report of Archaeological Tour of 1861-62.]

Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra writes of it as follows:—*

“One mile due east† from the dargāh, and about a hundred yards inside the northern gate of the old fort of Bihār, there lies a sandstone pillar, which bears two separate inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. Unfortu-

* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXXV, p. 270

† This is a mistake. The pillar was due north of the dargāh.

nately the surface of the stone has peeled off considerably, so that both the inscriptions are incomplete. The upper inscription, which is of Kumāra Gupta, has lost both ends of every line, being probably about one-third of the whole. The lower inscription has lost only the left upper corner, and some unknown amount at the bottom, where the pillar is broken off. But as the remaining portion of the upper part is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription, nearly the whole of the missing part of the left upper corner can be restored at once. This record belongs to Skanda Gupta, the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta.

"In the plate the upper inscription is numbered 1 and the lower one 2. The former extends to 13 lines, and bears the name of Kumāra Gupta, whose eulogium it is perhaps intended to be. I say "perhaps" deliberately, for a large portion at the beginning of every line being lost, and it being impossible to give a connected translation, I cannot be certain that the record did not contain some other name which has now been lost. In the fourth line the word *Kauya*, or "funeral cake," may refer to Kumāra Gupta, whose name occurs in the 3rd line, and the record may consequently belong to Skanda Gupta, but in the absence of connecting words such a supposition cannot be justifiable. The document is most probably in verse, and the word Chandra in the first line suggests the idea that the Kumāra Gupta of the record was the son of Chandra Gupta II. of the Kuan Pillar. The figure for the year in the last line is perfectly clear, and is indicated, as usual in Gupta records, by three parallel lines, but the letters before and after it are very doubtful, and no reliance can be placed on the date. The letter preceding the 3 may be a 60, and some of the letters after the letter for Śaka may be figures, but I am not certain of their value. As Kumāra was the sixth in a direct line from Śrī Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, it is certain that the date, whether 3 or 63, cannot be of the Gupta era; for according to the Udayagiri and Sanchi inscriptions, Chandra Gupta II. lived from 82 to 93 of that era. It must therefore be either of the reigning sovereign, or of some now unknown era, other than that used in the Allāhabād column inscription.

"The second inscription is even more imperfect than the first, and has no date; but there is no doubt of its being an edict of the Gupta who recorded the Bhitari inscription, or of one of his descendants. General Cunningham imagines it to be a counterpart of the Bhitari record, and says that the portion extant "is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription." Such, however, is not the case. It is true, the first line has an epithet which occurs in the first line of the Bhitari inscription, and lines 3 to 12 are made up of words whose counterparts are seen in that record. It may also be admitted that Kumāra Devi, the wife of Chandra Gupta I, is named in the 5th line, and the word Gupta occurs in the 10th,

which leave no doubt as to the race of the sovereign who recorded the document. But as no specific name is legible, and the words common to the two records are mostly adjectives expressive of royal qualities which are generally attributed to all Hindú sovereigns, their evidence cannot be accepted as conclusive as to the identity of the two records. Were it otherwise, still it would be of no use, for we have positive proof to shew that they are not identical. The second line of the Bihár record has a word which does not occur in the first two lines of the Bhitari inscription, and the matter from the 13th line to the end, if my reading be correct, is new. In the 18th line there is mention made of Bhaṭṭa Guhila Swámin, whose name does not occur in the Bhitari column. The conclusion, therefore, that I come to is, that the two documents were put up by the same race, and very likely by the same king, but on different occasions, and to record different occurrences. There is nothing in the record to justify the positive opinion of General Cunningham that it belongs to Skanda Gupta, son of Kumára Gupta."

Tentative Readings of the Bihár Pillar Inscriptions.

- No. I. (१) इति चन्द्र + न्द्रानुजत + धन्यो (?) गुणरत्नदः
 (२) धृतिशून्यभुविस्त्रांसेन यः ख्यातः स्वर्किंकु
 (३) भवयस्या गूढविक्रमेण कुमारगुप्ते
 (४) एतस्य देवस्य हि चक्षुक्यैः सदादृग्मेभ्यो हि
 (५) चीकरदेवनिकेतन सद्ग्रे चिर्वग्रापम्यः
 (६) — हं मोदसाधवरोच्छ्रेयप्रभासे चिमण्ड
 (७) दृष्टाणां कुसुमभरानतापमुभयकदम्बस्रवक
 (८) भट्टार्यायाभातिगृहं नवाधनिर्भोकनिर्भल
 (९) यमुप्रधानैर्भुविमन्त्रिभिर्य दाकात्मसु +
 (१०) भुजाच्छायमेव चक्रे भट्टार्यादिः
 (११) गृह्यते करभनिपतिताधकटकः कटः
 (१२) भेतुः स्वकर्तुर्यज्ञसिद्धिं सुकुतं भजतु तत्रे
 (१३) कायद्वारे सम्माने र सकनुमेभिर्भाप

- No. II. (१) + दृष्टियामप्रतिरयस्य
 (२) + नकधयस्य कृतान्तः
 (३) भट्टार्यमेधा दत्तः
 (४) केचपेवस्य महाराजा
 (५) + देव्यां कुमारदेव्यमुत्पन्नस्य
 (६) + तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां
 (७) सभागवतो महाराजा
 (८) + महादेव्या प्रः भवदेव्या
 (९) + पुत्रः तत्पादानुज्ञातः
 (१०) — — प्र र गुप्तः
 (११) + + : परसभागवतो

- (१२) + + + भाग्यदे काजपरकुशल
 (१३) + + य निर्वियमधेन
 (१४) छ + + + उपरिकुमारामात्य
 (१५) द्विकुलवर्णकपारिभारिक
 (१६) यद्यारिकशैलिकगोत्रिकसन्धेय
 (१७) वासकादीनन्दादिद्रासादेपजीविनः
 (१८) तस्मान् विज्ञापितोऽस्मि मम पितामहेन
 (१९) —मह गृहिलस्वामिना भट्टार्यिका
 (२०) पते बान्धवो कोपतौ मोकाय

I have removed the pillar from the place in which it lay, half buried in the ground, and set it up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihár court house. It is much to be regretted that so much of the inscription has disappeared, as to make its further translation impossible, but it is curious on account of its undoubted great antiquity, and as evidence of the Gupta rule in Bihár. From the enormous number of Buddhist remains found on the elevated plateau, which forms the site of the Bihár fort, there can be no doubt that a large vihâra and other Buddhist buildings of more than ordinary importance once existed on the spot, but, more than this, the colossal fortifications which surrounded it make it more than probable that it also formed the seat of the government of the surrounding country and the residence of its rulers. Not only have we the Gupta pillar, but numbers of the inscribed figures found there, bear the names of the Pala rajás of Bengal, of Madna-pála, of Mahí-pála, of Râma-pála and of Vighara-pala. Montgomery Martin* speaks of it as the residence of the Magha rája, but this is exceedingly vague, as everything *not* constructed within the memory of man, is universally stated in Bihár to be "Magha." We know that at one time Râjagriha was undoubtedly the capital of Magadha, and there can be little doubt that the metropolis was subsequently removed to Patáli, but of this Bihár tradition and history are silent. Such evidence as we have got, inclines me to the conclusion that Bihár was, for centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest, both at any rate the residence of the subordinate Hindú, Buddhist, or, Jaina governors of the country, if not of the kings themselves. It seems probable that even its occupation by the governors of the surrounding district had ceased before the capture of the ancient fort at the end of the twelfth century. The popular tradition of Bihár makes the seat of government at this time to have been at Rohtás, and we know that when Muhammad Bakhtyâr Khilji marched into the fort, he found nothing there but a vihâra. Minháj i Siráj gives the following account of the fall of the ancient seat of Buddhist and Hindú learning in his *Tabaqat-i-Nâgiri* † "It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the

* 'Gya and Shahabad,' p. 92.

† "The History of India as told by its own Historians," by Sir H. M. Elliot, London, 1869, Vol. II, p. 306.

fort of Bihár with only two hundred horse, and began the war by taking the enemies unaware....When Bakhtyár reached the gate of the fort, and when the fighting began, these two wise brothers [*i. e.*, Nizámud-dín and Sam-simud-dín] were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtyár with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort, and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study [madrasah]. For in the Hindí language the word Bihár (vihára) means a college." I feel by no means sure that the vihára thus destroyed was not a Buddhist institution, and that the "Brihmans with shaven heads" were not Buddhist monks. Strange to say, hardly a Hindú idol has ever been found in the ruins, and some of the Buddhist figures bear inscriptions, *certainly not more ancient than the tenth century, possibly the eleventh*. The most modern of these Buddhist figures are those showing the Sage in the attitude of repose—the body leaning to one side, and the base and background decorated with the most profuse and exquisite ornaments, a very good example of which will be described when I come to speak of the ruins of Rohoi. In consequence of the extreme delicacy of the workmanship, these exquisite specimens of later Buddhist art are scarcely ever to be found perfect, but I came on several mutilated figures of the kind in the ruins within the Bihár fort, and their base is generally covered with inscriptions, which serve to show that Buddhism flourished till a very late period in the heart of the country from which it sprung.

The Buddhist remains of Bihár are not confined to the mounds at the fort. The dargáh or shrine of Qádir Qumesh which occupies its centre, is composed almost entirely of the materials of the vihára, and its pavement is studded with enormous chaityas and pillars. The faqirs of the shrine guard them with religious care, and eke a livelihood by permitting persons afflicted with toothache and neuralgia, to cure ^(?) their ailments by touching the afflicted parts with the very stone which their forefathers delighted to break, in order to gain the envied title of "the iconoclast [بت شکن]. A mile away from the fort, towards the banks of the Panchána are the remains of several Buddhist buildings, the site of which is marked only by heaps of bricks; for the stones and pillars have been removed to adorn the masjid of Habi Khán Súr and the great dargáh of Makhdúm Sháh Sharafud-dín. A careful examination of the places shew them to have been built almost entirely of Buddhist materials. The position of these stones prevent any examination of them, but I feel sure many figures and inscriptions would come to light, if such could be made. The beautiful masjid of Habi Khán is now

completely deserted, and I have found several carvings in the floor. In the enclosure which faces it, I noticed a magnificent slab of basalt more than six feet long, and a foot thick, lying imbedded in the earth. I got it turned over, and found in the reverse a most curious (perhaps unique) series of twenty figures under pillared canopies;—one, the god Ganesa; two to eleven, Incarnations of Vishnu [Hindû]; twelve to twenty, the nine planets [Buddhistie]. Again to the north of the fort, in a plain called Logáni, there are traces of a large vihâra and many granite columns. In the same direction I have found several beautiful basalt pillars which have been photographed. In the dargâh of Makhdûm Shâh Ahmad Charmposh, situated a little to the east of Logáni, I found a splendid monolith covered with the most delicate carving, and the doorway of the shrine itself is a grand specimen of Buddhistie art, and, according to tradition, once served as the great entrance to the vihâra in the old fort. A figure of Buddha once occupied the centre, and the plinth is composed of three rows of the most exquisitely sculptured foliage, &c., and two other mouldings which once, doubtless, contained figures, are now covered with several yards of finely carved Persian verse. The doorway is eleven feet high and seven broad.

We may now leave Bihâr and travel northwards along the course of the Panchâna. At Soh Serâi, some two miles north of Bihâr, are the remains of a Buddhist temple. The ground is strewn with greystone columns of considerable size, most of them broken in several pieces. The base and capitals are square, and the shaft varies in shape—being first octagonal, then sixteen-sided, and lastly circular.

As I have said in the preceding chapter, I identify these remains with the Kapotika Sângihârâma of Hwen Thsang, situated two or three lis to the north of the isolated rock. The following extract is Julien's terse translation of his description of the locality.

'A deux ou trois li au sud de ce couvent, il y a une montagne isolée qui est taillée en terrasse, et dont le sommet hardi et imposant est enbelli par une riche végétation, des bassins d'eau pure, et des fleurs parfumées. Comme il est un lieu remarquable par la beauté de ses sites, on y a bâti un grand nombre de temples sacrés, où l'on voit souvent des miracles et des prodiges aussi rares qu'extraordinaires.

'Dans un vihara qui occupe le centre du plateau, s'élève une statue, en bois de sandal, de *Ranar-tsen-ts'ai-pon-sa* (d' Avalôbritegi ara bôdhisattva) **** On voit plusieurs dizaines d'hommes qui se privent de manger et de boire pendant sept ou même quatorze jours, pour lui adresser des vœux. Ceux qui sont animés d'une foi ardente voient immédiatement l'image entière du Bôdhisattva. Alors du milieu de la statue il sort environné d'un éclat imposant, leur parle avec bienveillance et leur accorde l'objet de leurs vœux. Il y a aussi

un nombre considérable d'hommes à qui il est donné de le voir dans toute sa majesté. Aussi la multitude de ses adorateurs s'accroît-elle de jour en jour. Les personnes qui lui rendent des hommages assidus, craignant que la foule des visiteurs ne salit cette vénérable statue, ont fait élever autour, à une distance de sept pas, une balustrade en bois hérissée de pointes de fer. Ceux qui viennent saluer et adorer la statue, sont obligés de se tenir en dehors de la balustrade. Ne pouvant l'approcher, ils jettent de loin les fleurs qu'ils viennent lui offrir. Ceux qui réussissent à fixer leurs guirlandes de fleurs sur les mains et sur les bras du *Bodhisattva*, regardent cela comme un heureux présage, et se persuadent qu'ils verront l'accomplissement de leurs vœux.

Three miles to the north of Soh, on the east bank of the river, which was once of considerable width, there are distinct traces of a stûpa and monastery, and the huge piles of brick on every side induce me to think that a flourishing town once surrounded the religious edifices. The whole of the ruins are encircled with luxuriant groves of pipal trees, and the villagers had collected all the fragments of chaityas, mouldings, &c, around their roots. A portion of a figure of Padmapâni was so firmly imbedded in the wood, that a piece nearly a foot square had to be removed before it could be extracted. The figures found at Rohoî are perfect and un mutilated, a very unusual circumstance in Bihâr, the record on the tomb of whose saints generally winds up by telling us that the deceased "was a breaker of images, and God has therefore given him a place in Paradise." The whole of the idols appear to have been removed (doubtless at the approach of the Muhammadans) and buried some distance from the ruins the open plain. They were discovered there by the zamindâr of Rohoî—a Bundelâ Râjpût by caste—twenty years ago, and taken away by him to his garden, where I found them. They had been arranged merely for ornament, and he at once offered them to me. The principal idols are figures of Buddha in different positions resembling those already described. The finest is an idol, three feet two inches high, quite perfect, and resembling in many respects the one found at Tillârah. The crown worn is five-sided and very tall, and the body is not covered by a jacket. The female archers are seen at the feet of the attendants and not above them. Parallel to the head are figures holding scrolls. On the shoulders of the charioteer beneath the feet is seated a small female figure. The wheel of the chariot is in the centre, and a horse is seen within it with its head to the left. Of the remaining horses three gallop to the right and three to the left. A small figure of Padmapâni exquisitely carved. There is a Buddha seated in the hair, and a chaitya on either side of the head. Three alto-relievo figures of Buddha in the attitude of repose, in very fine black basalt, three feet nine inches. Around the body the stone has been completely removed. The body is inclined to the

right and is seated on a lotus throne supported by the richest scroll work. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the right foot depends from the throne, and is supported by a cluster of lotus blossoms. Its sole is turned outwards and bears the royal mark. The left foot is coiled up on the throne and shows the same mark as the hand. The richest possible carving is displayed on the ornaments. The dhūtī is bound up at the waist by an elaborate girdle, and a scarf passes across the body from left to right. The hair is dressed in a conical chignon, five inches high, composed of innumerable twists. In the centre of it a Buddha is seated. There are ornaments behind the ears, from which ribbons or tassels depend. The throne (which is nearly concealed by ornaments) is a square of scroll work, at each corner of which a large bird is seated. At each side of the figure is an elaborately dressed attendant. Between these and the main figure are lotus blossoms, springing from a delicately carved stem. The halo which surrounds the head is oval in shape and most elaborately carved, and in the centre is a diamond-shaped jewel on a line with the face. Right and left of the figure are groups of grotesque attendants, from whose hands springs a flowing scroll of rich geometrical pattern, which forms the background of the figure, and in the midst of which five Buddhas are seated, in different attitudes and on separate thrones. It bears the following inscription, thus rendered by Professor R. G. Bhandarkar :—

श्रीमद्विग्रहपाल देवराज्य सम्वत् [figure indistinct २ or ५] मार्गशिर्षिने १८. देवप्र-
मोयं सुवर्णकार देवमुमुदे ? सुतस्य.

"Year of the reign of Śrīmad Vīgrahapāla four [2] Māggasirsha, 19th day. This is a religious gift of the son of Dehabū, a goldsmith."

There are two Vīgrahapālas in the Dīnājpur copper plate. The date of the latter is given as 1027, A. D. (See Prinsep's works, Mr. Thomas's Edition, vol. II. p. 271).

I also give a reading by Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra—

श्रीमद्विग्रहपालदेवस्य राज्य सम्वत् १९ मार्गशिर्षिने १५

दे * * य सुवर्णकार देवे क सु * * सुत सुत

"On the 15th of the month of Mārga (November-December), in the Samvat year 12 of the reign of Śrīmat Vīgrahapāla Deva, (the rest illegible)."

Figure of Kabīr, seated on a chair, with one foot resting on a stool. The figure is three feet high. The hair is dressed in a profusion of ringlets, and the body is very corpulent. One hand rests on the knee grasping a well filled money bag, and the other holds apparently a pouch or gourd. (5) Small figure of Māyādevī quite perfect—standing on a lotus-leaf pedestal, and holding a lotus-flower in either hand. A Buddha is seated on either side of the head.

caves and temples of Rājagriha were abandoned to the ravages of decay, and when the followers of Tathāgata forsook the mountain dwellings of their great teacher, the monastery of Nālandā arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Bargāon. Successive monarchs vied in its embellishment ; lofty pagodas were raised in all directions ; halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them ; shrines, temples, and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower ; and around the whole mass of religious edifices were grouped the "four-storied" dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Buddhism.

Fah-Hiyan visited the spot in 415, A. D., and tells us that Sāripūtra was born at Nālandā, and that he subsequently returned to it to enter nirvāṇa. He also informs us that this memorable event in Buddhist ecclesiastical history had been commemorated by the crection of a lofty town which he saw, but he says nothing of the existence of any vihāra or sanghārāma. Hwen Thsang, according to the chronology of his travels, so ably and elaborately established by Major-General Cunningham, arrived at the gates of the great Nālandā vihāra somewhere about the 1st March 637, A. D., and spent within its precincts, and in visiting the holy places in its immediate neighbourhood, no less a period than twenty-two months. His description of the antiquities of the place, of the manners, customs, and language of its inmates, of the pious gifts of its long line of royal benefactors, and of the architecture and decorations of its countless temples, pagodas, and shrines, is singularly minute and vivid, and fills a large space in the first volume of M. Julien's translation of the 'Mémoires.' Before proceeding to describe, and subsequently to attempt an identification, of its ruins, I feel bound to quote somewhat at length from the records of the pilgrim. He writes as follows : "Le dixième jour, les religieux du couvent de *Na-lan-to* (Nālandā vihāra) envoyèrent au-devant de lui quatre hommes d'une vertu éminente [*i. e.*, to Bodh-Gayā]. Il partit avec eux et après avoir fait sept *yōdjanas*, il arriva au village où est situé le couvent. Ce fut dans ce village (appelé *Nalandagrama*) que naquit l'honorable *Meo-lien* (*Mūdgalya yāna*). Au moment de son arrivée, il vit en outre deux cents religieux et un millier de fidèles qui accouraient au-devant de lui avec des étendards, des parasols, des parfums, et des fleurs. Ils tournèrent autour lui en célébrant ses louanges et entrèrent dans le couvent de Nālandā. Une fois arrivés, ils se joignirent à la multitude des premiers religieux. Quand le Maître de la loi eut fini de les saluer, ils placèrent sur l'estrade du président un fauteuil particulier et le prièrent de s'y asseoir. La multitude des religieux et des fidèles s'assit pareillement. Après quoi on chargea le *wei-max* (le *Karmadāna*, le sous-directeur) de frapper la plaque sonore *Kien-tehi* (*Gnanti*) et d'inviter à haute voix le Maître de la loi à demeurer dans le couvent, et à faire usage en commun de tous les ustensiles et effets des religieux qu'ils étaient rassemblés."

Here follows a long account of the interview of the traveller with the abbot Sitabhadra.

After describing with considerable minuteness the rations dealt out to him by the ecclesiastics of the vihāra with an unsparing hand, he sets about the more difficult task of sketching its history, and writes,—

“ Le mot (*Nālanda*) veut dire en chinois ‘ celui qui donne sans se lasser,’ voici ce que les vieillards racontent à ce sujet. Au sud du couvent situé au milieu d’un jardin d’arbres *An-mo-lo* (*Amras*), il y avait un étang qui était habité par un dragon, nommé *Na-lan-to* (*Nālanda*). A côté, on construisit un couvent qu’on appela, pour cette raison, le couvent de *Na-lan-to* (*Nālanda vihāra*).

“ On rapporte encore que jadis Tathāgata, à l’époque où il menait la vie d’un *Pan-sa* (*Bōdhisattva*), devint roi d’un grand royaume, et fixa sa résidence en cet endroit. Touché de compassion pour les orphelins et les indigents, il répandit constamment des bienfaits et des aumônes. Les habitants, pénétrés de reconnaissance, surnommèrent cet endroit ‘ *Le pays de celui qui donne sans se lasser.*’ Dans l’origine, ce lieu était un jardin d’Amras, appartenant à un riche maître de maison (*Grihapati*). Cinq cents marchands l’achetèrent au prix d’un million de pièces d’or et le donnèrent au *Bouddha*.

“ Dans cet endroit, le Bouddha expliqua la loi pendant trois mois, et parmi ces marchands, il y en eut beaucoup qui obtinrent le fruit (*de l’Intelligence, Bōdhi*).

“ Après le *Nirvāna* du Bouddha, un ancien roi de ce royaume, nommé *Cho-kia-lo-o’-t’ie-to* (*Çakradetya*), rempli de respect et d’amour pour le Bouddha, construisit à ses frais ce *kia-lun* (*Sanghārāma*).

“ Ce roi étant mort, eut pour successeur son fils *Fo-to-k’io-to* (*Bouddha goupta*), qui, après avoir pris les rênes de ce grand royaume, construisit plus loin au sud un autre *kia-lun* (*Sanghārāma*).

“ Un peu plus loin à l’est, son fils, le roi *Tu-ta-kie-to* (*Tathāgata*) bâtit un autre couvent.

“ Plus loin au nord-est, son fils *Po-lo-o’-t’ie-to* (*Bāladitya*) bâtit un autre couvent.

“ Dans la suite, voyant qu’un saint religieux venait de Chine, et se dirigeait vers lui pour recevoir de ses mains les provisions nécessaires, il fut transporté de joie, quitta son trône et embrassa la vie religieuse.

“ Il eut pour successeur son fils *Ea-che-lo* (*Tadpra*), qui plus loin au nord construisit un autre couvent. Quelque temps après, un roi de l’Inde Centrale bâtit à côté un autre couvent.

“ De cette manière, six rois, qui montèrent successivement sur le trône, se livrèrent chacun à de pieuses constructions. Le dernier de ces rois entoura tous ces couvents d’une enceinte de murs en briques et les réunit en un seul.

Une porte qu'il établit y donnait accès. Il construisit des salles séparées (pour les conférences), et partagea en huit cours l'espace qui se trouvait au centre des Sangháiámas. Des tours précieuses étaient rangées dans un ordre régulier ; des pavillons ornés s'élevaient comme des pics élancés ; des domes hardis se dressaient au milieu des nues, et les faîtes des temples semblaient voler au dessus des vapeurs du ciel. De leurs fenêtres, on voyait naître les vents et les nuages, et au dessus de leurs toits audacieux le soleil et la lune entraient en conjunction. Tout autour serpentait une eau azurée que des lotus bleus embellissaient de leurs calices épanouis, et de beaux *kie-nie* (*Kanabras*), "*Butea frondosa*," laissaient pendre leurs fleurs d'un rouge éblouissant, et des *Amras* les protégeaient au dehors de leur ombrage épaïs.

"Dans les diverses cours, les maisons des religieux avaient chacune quatre étages. Ses pavillons avaient des piliers ornés de dragons et des colonnes ornées de jade, peintes en rouge et richement ciselées, et des balustrades. Les linteaux des portes étaient faits avec élégance, les toits étaient couverts de tuiles brillantes dont l'éclat se multipliait en se reflétant, et variait à chaque instant de mille manières.

"Les *Sanghárámas* de l'Inde se comptent aujourd'hui par milliers ; mais il n'en est point qui égalent ceux-ci par leur majesté, leur richesse et la hauteur de leur construction. On y compte, en tout temps, dix mille religieux tant du dedans que du dehors, qui tous suivent la doctrine du grand *Véhicule*. Les sectateurs des dix-huit écoles s'y trouvent réunis, et l'on y étudie toutes sortes d'ouvrages depuis les livres vulgaires, les *veito* (*Vedas*) et autres écrits du même genre jusqu'aux traités *In-ming* (*Iettonvidyā*), *Cuing-ming* (*Cabdavidyā*), la médecine (*Tchikitsavidyā*), les sciences occultes (*Krya*) et l'arithmétique (*Samkhyāna*). On y compte mille religieux qui peuvent expliquer vingt ouvrages sur les Cāstras, cinq cents qui en comprennent trente, et dix seulement, y compris le Maître de la loi, qui en possèdent cinquante. Mais le maître *Riai-him* (*Cilabhadra*) les avait tous lus et sa vertu éminente et son âge vénérable lui avaient donné le premier rang parmi les religieux. Dans l'intérieur du couvent, une centaine de chaires étaient occupées chaque jour, et les disciples suivaient avec zèle les leçons de leurs maîtres, sans perdre un seul instant."

This, then, was Nālandá, as Hwen Thsang saw it, twelve centuries ago, let me now attempt to describe its ruins as they exist in our own times.

Approaching them from Bihár, we first arrive at an enormous tank, running due east and west for nearly a mile and about a quarter of a mile broad. It is now called the "Diggi Polhar," and is surrounded on all sides by fine groves of mango trees. At the west end of the lake is situated the modern village of Begumpúr. About three hundred feet to the south of the village is a large square mound, once apparently flanked with small

towers and having no connection with the Buddhist remains, being evidently the ruins of a Muhammadan fort. Immediately to the south of this are two small Buddhist topes, some fifty feet in circumference and not more than six or eight feet high. I found in these several fine Buddhist and Hindú idols, notably a crowned figure of Vishnu, seated on his sacred bird; and several figures which I recovered from the village itself, evidently came from the same place. One thousand eight hundred and twenty-five feet south-west of these topes is a very beautiful square tank, known as the "Súraj Pokhar," which measures as near as possible four hundred feet on each side. This pond was once flanked with a row of small pagodas on the north side covered with massive brick cupolas, and their ruins still exist in tolerable entirety. I clearly marked out six of these temples. On each side of the pond were three brick gháts, and the ruins of these may still be traced. The banks of the tank served also as the repository for chaityas. Several of these were taken out of the tank by me, and I saw many others beneath the clear water. About twenty feet to the east of the tank is a mound, evidently formed of the remains of some large brick building, surmounted by a luxuriant *bar* tree. Due south of this, and at a distance of one thousand two hundred feet, is another enormous mound six hundred feet in circumference, and nearly fifty feet in height. Between this and the next tumulus, which is seven hundred and fifty feet distant in the same direction, is a brick enclosure containing seven Buddhist figures, now regularly worshipped as Hindú deities. The largest, yecept the *Teliá Bhandár*, (see note in the concluding chapter), is of colossal proportions, and resembles very much, though it is of inferior workmanship, the great Sri Bullam Buddha of the Titráwan monastery. The following are the measurements of the *Teliá Bhandár*—

| | Feet | Inches. |
|--|------|---------|
| Crown of head to chin, | 2 | 6 |
| Crown of head to seat of throne, | 5 | 6 |
| Length of head, | 1 | 1 |
| Length of foot, | 1 | 3 |
| Circumference of head at forehead, | 4 | 4 |
| Shoulder to elbow, | 2 | 7 |
| Elbow to hand, | 1 | 8 |
| Hip to knee, | 3 | 2 |
| Knee to ankle, | 2 | 9 |
| Round the wrist, | 5 | 0 |
| Round the breast, | 5 | 7 |
| Round the waist, | 1 | 9 |
| Round the thigh, | 2 | 8 |
| Round the neck, | 3 | 1 |

Three hundred feet to the south of the last-mentioned tumulus is a third great tope, sixty high and more than one thousand feet in circumference, the largest and most important of the mounds, surrounded by a series of smaller topes, and forming the centre of the ruins of Bargáon. I found this on the 15th October, 1871, literally a small hill, the surface of which was broken only by a depression on the top, and the remains of a former excavation on the eastern slope; the sides covered with a tangled mass of thicket and brushwood, and studded here and there by a solitary mango or date tree.

The results of my excavations have been already given in the third chapter.

Three hundred feet to the south of this is a fifth mound, of about six hundred feet in circumference, but of greater elevation than any of the rest. Seven hundred and ninety feet south of this is a sixth tumulus of inconsiderable size and height. Seven hundred and thirty feet south of the sixth mound is a large lake, called the "Indra Pokhar," which faces the whole of the southern side of the ruins of the monasteries. The three central mounds are bounded on the west by three lakes, known respectively by the name of "Déhá," "Bullén," and "Kunduá;" and some distance west of the fifth tumulus is a pond, called "Suráha," on the east bank of which are unmistakable traces of Buddhist ruins. South of this is another pond called "Dudhdéhá," and a third known as "Satyauti," which also is faced on its east side by the ruins of a temple or tope.

Seven hundred and twenty feet due east of the great central tumulus is another enormous mound, which I shall designate as the seventh mound. It is nearly as large as the central mound itself, but of much less elevation. In the level plain between these two heaps is a mass of overgrown walls and jungle-covered hillocks, broken here and there by a square patch of scanty cultivation.

Some distance south-east of this seventh tope is the village of Kaptewari, and the remains of an eighth temple or vihára, nearly reduced to the level of the surrounding plain by the toil of an industrious cultivator, who yearly ploughs across its surface, and whose grandfather discovered some fine idols and pillars, which are now in my collection. The east of the ruins is faced by a tank called the "Pansokar." The modern village of Bargáon lies to the north of the ruins, and is in a line between the Pansokar and Súra Pokhar tanks.

The wall which surrounded the whole mass of conventual buildings is gone, and has left no trace; nor could the most diligent search light on the whereabouts of the great gate. Bargáon has been the brick quarry of Bihár for centuries; hence it is that the walls, gates, and houses have disappeared, while the massive tumuli formed by the débris of the temples are as yet untouched.

Before leaving Bargáon, I made a careful survey of the ruins between the mounds, and succeeded in distinctly tracing eight halls or yards. This mass of ruins lies parallel to the great mounds numbered by me III, IV, and V, and between them and No VII. No. I (to the extreme south) is 114 feet east and west, and 84 feet north and south; No. II, 72 feet east and west by 40 feet north and south; No. III, 60 feet east and west by 50 feet north and south; No. IV, 40 feet east and west and 70 feet north and south; No. V, 195 feet east and west by 75 feet north and south; No. VI, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VII, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VIII, 100 feet east and west by 60 feet north and south. I discovered in these ruins several gateways and pillars, but no idols. These are evidently the remains of the eight "halls of disputation," described by Hwen Thsang as being built on the land between the *monasteries and the dwelling of the teachers of the "right law."*

It is a remarkable fact that the line of mounds still bears the name of "*dagop*" by the country people. Is not this the *dágoba* of the Páli annals? They are also called *tílá* and *deará*.

Subsequent to the excavations of October 1872, I employed with permission, for some three or four weeks, the labour of about twenty prisoners, and succeeded in making a deep cutting on the northern face of mound VII.

The result has been the partial uncovering of the northern façade of a *square building flanked by four circular towers*, about twenty-five feet in circumference. The whole of the wall is decorated with the most beautiful brick mouldings divided by lines of niches, containing Buddhist figures at regular intervals. The cornices which surround the towers are quite perfect, and the whole exterior appears to have been traversed by small staircases leading to the roof. The thorough exploration of these magnificent ruins would lead to results as important to the historian as to the archaeologist, and I still hope the task may be undertaken at no distant day by the Government. There are no difficulties to contend with; the ground which is covered by these mounds, is a barren waste, and the proprietor, Chaudhari Wáhid 'Alí, is quite willing to permit their excavation, and to facilitate matters as much as he can.

Of the nature of these remains there can be little doubt. Various writers have made Bargáon the capital of a great kingdom, the seat of the rule of some mysterious prince of Magadha; but this theory seems to me distinctly negatived by the appearance of the ruins. At Bargáon one sees no lofty wall; no rugged battlements; no ruined towers and bastions,—the characteristic features of Ku-ágirapura, the royal city of Bimbisára, or of Rájagriha, the capital of his son. The exploration of its ruins already made, and every fresh excavation that may hereafter be accomplished, will, I think, lead to the conclusion that "*Vihára-grám*" was merely

Three hundred feet to the south of the last-mentioned tumulus is a third great tope, sixty high and more than one thousand feet in circumference, the largest and most important of the mounds, surrounded by a series of smaller topes, and forming the centre of the ruins of Bargáon. I found this on the 15th October, 1871, literally a small hill, the surface of which was broken only by a depression on the top, and the remains of a former excavation on the eastern slope; the sides covered with a tangled mass of thicket and brushwood, and studded here and there by a solitary mango or date tree.

The results of my excavations have been already given in the third chapter.

Three hundred feet to the south of this is a fifth mound, of about six hundred feet in circumference, but of greater elevation than any of the rest. Seven hundred and ninety feet south of this is a sixth tumulus of considerable size and height. Seven hundred and thirty feet south of the sixth mound is a large lake, called the "Indra Pokhar," which faces the whole of the southern side of the ruins of the monasteries. The three central mounds are bounded on the west by three lakes, known respectively by the name of "Déhá," "Bullén," and "Kunduá;" and some distance west of the fifth tumulus is a pond, called "Suráha," on the east bank of which are unmistakable traces of Buddhist ruins. South of this is another pond called "Dudhdéhá," and a third known as "Satyauti," which also is faced on its east side by the ruins of a temple or tope.

Seven hundred and twenty feet due east of the great central tumulus is another enormous mound, which I shall designate as the seventh mound. It is nearly as large as the central mound itself, but of much less elevation. In the level plain between these two heaps is a mass of overgrown walls and jungle-covered hillocks, broken here and there by a square patch of scanty cultivation.

Some distance south-east of this seventh tope is the village of Kaptewari, and the remains of an eighth temple or vihára, nearly reduced to the level of the surrounding plain by the toil of an industrious cultivator, who yearly ploughs across its surface, and whose grandfather discovered some fine idols and pillars, which are now in my collection. The east of the ruins is faced by a tank called the "Pansokar." The modern village of Bargáon lies to the north of the ruins, and is in a line between the Pansokar and Súraj Pokhar tanks.

The wall which surrounded the whole mass of conventual buildings is gone, and has left no trace; nor could the most diligent search light on the whereabouts of the great gate. Bargáon has been the brick quarry of Bihár for centuries; hence it is that the walls, gates, and houses have disappeared, while the massive tumuli formed by the débris of the temples are as yet untouched.

elaborate perhaps, than any in the world; and intricate and profound discussions took the place of bodily austerity and mental abstraction. The monastery, or, more strictly speaking, the university of Nalanda, was as it were a circle from which Buddhist philosophy and teaching diffused itself over Southern Asia. It was here that Aryadeva of Ceylon attached himself to the person of the great teacher Nāgārjuna and adopted his religious opinions, and it was here that Hwen Thsang spent a great portion of his pilgrimage in search of religious instruction.

But even in the far off times when Buddhism was as yet unknown, the remote period of Krishna and Dhima and Jarāsandha, we find the natural features of Rājagriha almost the same as when Śākhya Muni trod its mountain sides, five centuries before the birth of Christ, as when Hwen Thsang again described them after the lapse of eleven hundred years, or as they are seen year after year during our own time by the English traveller or the Jaina pilgrim. Let me quote a few lines from the great Sanskrit Epic, the deep interest of the subject being my excuse.

Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, 795—801, and 807—811.

उनीर्यं सरथं रथ्यां हृष्टा पूज्याश्च कोशला ।
 चतीत्य जमुर्भिषिलां मालां चर्मवतीं नदीं ।
 अतीत्य गदां शोणच अयथे प्राङ्मुखास्तदा ।
 कुशधीरब्धदा जमुर्मगधं चैवमच्युताः ।
 ते शशक्रोधनाकीर्णमनुमन्तं शुभद्रुमं ।
 गौरथं गिरिमासाद्य ददृशुर्मगधं पुरं ।
 एष पाथं मृचान् भाति यश्चुमाद्रित्यमनुमान् ।
 निरामयः सुवेष्ठाद्यो निवेशो मागधः शुभः ।
 वैचारो विपुलः शैलो वराचो ह्यभयथा ।
 तथा अरिगिरिस्त्रात शुभादेत्यक्षयमाः ।
 एते पञ्च महाशृङ्गाः पर्वताः शीतलद्रुमाः ।
 रघुनीवाभिर्भृत्य भृङ्गताङ्गा गिरिप्रजं ।
 पुष्पवेष्टिताखादेर्गन्धर्वद्विर्मनोरमैः ।
 भिगूदा इव लोभाणां वनैः कामिजनप्रियैः ।

अपरिदार्या मेघानां मागधा मनुना छाताः ।
 कोशिको गरिमाद्येव चक्राते चाप्यनुपचं ।
 एवं प्राप्य पुरं रम्यं दुराधर्षं समन्ततः ।
 अर्धेभिर्बिम्बनूपमां जरासन्धोऽभितन्दते ।
 बयमासादने तस्य दर्पमद्य हरेमधि ।
 एवमुक्त्वा हतः धर्मं धातरो विपुलौजसः ।

"In the reign of Śrīmat Mahipāla Deva. Samvat 913 (= A. D. 856) This is a religious gift of Bālāditya, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta, a follower of the noble Mahāyāna school, a devout worshipper, who came from (the city of) Kausāmbī, (wherein he was) the chief among the wise men of the auspicious Tailāḍhaka (clan). Whatever merit may accrue from this, may the same be to the advancement of the highest knowledge among the mass of mankind. The end."

The date is evolved by the translator from the words *agni*, "fire," (= 3); *rāgha*, "power," (= 1); and *dvāra*, "door," (= 9), which being transposed by the rule of *ankasya vāmgati*, gives 913.*

The two marks, however, which succeed the word *samvat*, somewhat resemble the figure II, and Professor Rāmkrishna Gopāl Bhandarkar reads it so accordingly. The inscriptions given in the present paper yield the following royal names of the Pāla race—

1. Go Pāla.
2. Mahī Pāla.
3. Madana Pāla.
4. Vīgraha Pāla.
5. Deva Pāla.
6. Rāma Pāla.

Nos. 4 and 6 are additions to the list compiled by Bābū Rājendra-lāla Mitra from the combined results of several plates. Great light will be thrown on the subject by the complete deciphering and translation of the Munger plate, a task now in the able hands of the translator of the Nālandā inscriptions. I have, however, compiled the following list from the sources at present available—

1. Go Pāla
2. Dharma Pāla
3. Śūra Pāla
4. Mahī Pāla
5. Deva Pāla
6. Vīgraha Pāla I.
7. Madana Pāla
8. Vīgraha Pāla II.

* Since supplying the above translation, I have had an opportunity of examining the jamb, and looking at the smooth space after the word *Samvat*, just enough for six letters, I am disposed to think that the figures or symbolical letters for the year were never put in. The two upright strokes after the word are unmistakably *danā* and not figures. The word which I first read *rāgha* is *radha*, which is a name of the month *Vaisākhā* (April-May). This would give the date 3rd of *Vaisākhā*. The words *dvavatate* would in this case mean, "spread on the door, i. e., the gift was given at the gate.

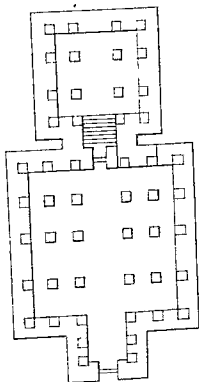
9. *Rāja Pāla*
10. *Jaya Pāla*
11. *Nārāyaṇa Pāla*
12. *Mahendra Pāla*
13. *Naya Pāla*
14. *Rāma Pāla*
15. *Govinda Pāla.*

The name of the last mentioned monarch occurs in an inscription in Gayá,—dated, Samvat 1233, = A. D. 1175, and in another of 1185, = A. D. 1178.

The *kutīla* of the inscription of Rāma Pāla, is quite modern, but it exists on the plinth of a typical Buddhist figure. I place Rāma Pāla, therefore, immediately before Govinda Pāla, and assign to him the approximate date of 1150. The carving in question is perhaps the most beautiful in my collection, and its existence tends to shew Buddhism in general, and the Titrāwan vihára in particular, flourishing within fifty years of the Muhammadan conquest of Bihār. Everything I have seen, tends to establish the comparatively modern existence of Buddhism in Bihār, and even now Jaina (or in other words *sectarian Buddhist*) temples crown the hills of Rājagriha, and exist and prosper, both at Nālandā and in the city of Bihār itself.

A careful examination of the plinths of all the idols would, I feel convinced, disclose a greater number of inscriptions, nearly all of which would tend more or less to throw light on the dates and succession of the great line of Pāla kings which between the eighth and the eleventh centuries at any rate, exercised supreme power in Bihār. Everything I have found shews the city of Bihār to have been their capital, so far at least as Magadha was concerned, and to have been as important and prosperous during the epoch I am writing of, as Kuságárapura was at the time of Bimbisāra, or Rājagriha under the auspices of his son Ajátasatru and his successors.

Secondly.—Socially speaking the figures now collected throw a great deal of light on the domestic life of the times they belong to. They illustrate most amply the shape and form of ornaments, weapons, and utensils; the character and pattern of dress (*e. g.*, the existence of boots!), the details of religious ceremony, the style of architecture, and every other point connected with the manners and customs of the period. They serve to show the effect of Buddhist art on the national taste, and are invaluable aids to the painter and sculptor. Thus much for the social aspect of the question. But it may well be asked what has been the effect of the long existence of Buddhism on Bihār society, or has it merely passed over its surface like a shallow stream, leaving no marks by which to track its course? Buddhism, the great leveller of caste distinctions, the social



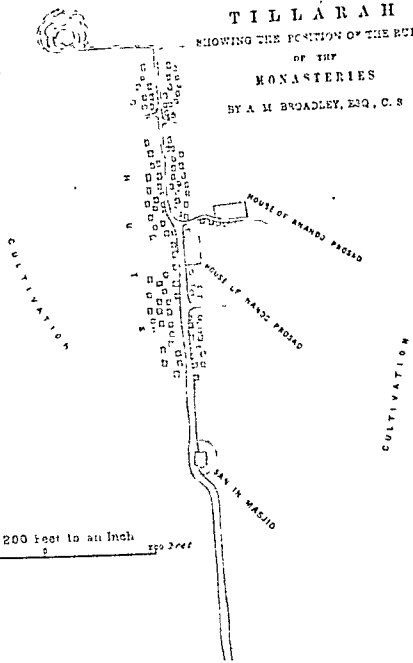
Scale 10 Feet to an Inch

INS OF THE VINAHAS

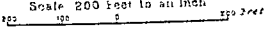
PLAN
OF
TILLÁRAH

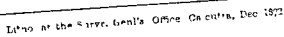
SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE RUINS
OF THE
MONASTERIES

BY A. M. BROADLEY, ESQ., C. S.



Scale 200 feet to an inch





near the city, would doubtless be a very fit place for Buddha and his followers to live in, as it lies not far from the city; it would be a place of easy resort to all those who would feel inclined to visit Buddha and pay him their respect; it is moreover far enough, that the noise and cries of the people could not be heard therein; the place is peculiarly fitted for retreat and contemplation; it will assuredly prove agreeable to Buddha. Whereupon he rose up, and holding in his hand a golden shell, like a cup, he made to Phra a solemn offering of that garden, which was called Weluwana. Gaudama remained silent in token of his acceptance of the gift. He preached the law and left the palace. At that time he called his disciples and said to them, "Beloved Rahans, I give you permission to receive offerings."

He next proceeds to recount the conversion from schism of Sāriputra [Thariputra] and Mogalan [Mankalan], who subsequently became the chief disciples of Buddha. After this event, Buddha continues to preach, teach at the Kalandavangnana Vihāra,* but at last yields to the frequent messages of his royal father and returns to Kapila.† The next chapter, however, is devoted to legends connected with his three years' stay at Rājagriha, *i. e.*, the dedication of the Dzeta-woon [?] monastery, the miraculous cure of Djvika, and the avarice of Mogalan. In the succeeding chapter we learn that Buddha spent the 11th season of his religious life at Nālandā, and 17th and 20th again at Rājagriha. After this Sāriputra set out for his native place Nālandā, to enter into that state of unconsciousness—the much-longed for Nirvana—which formed the consummation of religious life. I quote Bigandet's translation of this part of the biography, as a specimen of Buddhist writing, and as peculiarly interesting on account of its close connection with the ruins of the great Nālandā monastery.

"It was little before dark when the great Rahan arrived at the entrance of the Nalaka village. He went to rest at the foot of a banian tree close to that spot. At that time there came a young man, his nephew, named Ooparewata, who perceiving Thariputra bowed down before him and stood in that place. The great Rahan said to him: "Is your grandmother at home?" Having been answered in the affirmative, he continued addressing him: "Go now to her and tell her to prepare for me the room wherein I was born, and a place for these five hundred Rahans that accompany me. I will stay for a while in the village, and will go to her house, but this evening. The lad went in all haste to his grandmother's house and said to her: "My uncle is come, and is staying at the entrance of the village." "Is he alone,"

* Deal, p. 117, note. Although he states the monastery to be called in Singalese (as in Burmese) Weluwana, he supposes it to have been the gift of a rich landowner, Kalunda. The Burmese text, however, states distinctly that it was the religious gift of Buddha.

† Bigandet, p. 120.

inquired the grandmother, "or has he with him a numerous retinue? For what purpose is he coming here?" The young man related to her all the particulars of his interview with his uncle. Nupathari, the mother of Tháriputra, thought within her self; perhaps my son who has been a Rahan from his youth, desires in his old age to leave his profession. She, however, gave orders to have the desired room cleaned, and a place prepared for all his attendants.

'In the evening the great disciple went to his mother's house with all his followers. He ascended to the room prepared for him and rested therein. He bade all the Rahans to withdraw and leave him alone. They had scarcely departed when a most violent disease seized Thariputra, which caused an abundant vomiting of blood, so great indeed, that the vessel wherein it flowed could not hold it. His mother, at the sight of such an awful distemper, did not dare to approach, but with a broken heart retired into her own room, leaning against the door. At that time, four great Náts, a Thágiá, their chief, and four Bráhmas came to see him, and to minister unto him, during his painful illness, but he bade them retire. His mother seeing the coming in and going out of so many distinguished visitors, and the respect they paid to her son, drew near to the door of his room and calling the faithful Tsanda, inquired from him wherefore so many distinguished individuals had come. Tsanda explained to her that the great Náts, the chief of Thágiás, had come to visit and assist her son, and enjoy the presence of the great Rahan.

'Meanwhile he informed the patient that his mother wished to see him. Tháriputra replied that the moment was not a proper one, and asked from his mother the motive of her untimely visit. "Beloved son," said she, "I am come here to contemplate your ever dear countenance. But who are they, those that have just come to see you?" Thariputra explained to her how he had been visited by Náts, Thágiás, and Brahmas. His mother inquiring from him if he were greater than any one of these, he hesitatingly replied that he was more excellent than any of them. His mother thought within herself: if my son be so exalted, how much more must Buddha be. Her heart was then overflowed with the purest joy.

'Tháriputra rightly understood that the moment had come to preach the law to his mother. He said to her: "Woman, at the time my great teacher was born, when he obtained the supreme intelligence and preached the most excellent law, a great earthquake was felt throughout ten thousand worlds. No one has ever equalled him in the practice of virtue, in understanding, wisdom, and in the knowledge of, and the affection for, the transcendent excellencies of the state of a rahat." He then went on explaining to her the law and many particulars relating to the person of Buddha. "Beloved son," said his mother, delighted with all that she heard, "why have you